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New Republic

THE NR & THE THIRD PARTY

By MICHAEL STRAIGHT, EDITOR

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WASHINGTON WIRE

TRUMAN'S THREE MESSAGES to Congress are out of the way and from now on the initiative lies mostly with the Republicans. They have the congressional floor for the next seven months. Their denunciations of the Truman State of the Union message were admirably prompt; in fact they were all ready and mimeographed even before the President had uttered his first word.

We have to admit that it wasn't till we read the GOP outbursts that we realized the President had said anything very unusual. Except on taxes, he was mostly going over old ground, and he expressed it all in a deceptively mild, calm, non-controversial way. What seemed to arouse the Republicans most was that it was an almost complete "New Deal" platform. They are not yet prepared to admit that New Deal proposals, even with Roosevelt gone, have vote-getting possibilities. Well, time will show.

As for the delivery, it was about Truman par for the course: flat, conscientious and uninspiring. In view of certain adverse criticisms of Miss Truman's singing, the current gag going around here is that Margaret ought to deliver presidential messages to Congress, and let her father sing.

It was the substance and not the manner of the speech, however, that brought a frosty reception. The Democrats made a few efforts at applause, and the Republicans joined in once, ironically. As somebody in the press gallery said, they had to cut a hole in the ice to get the President out.

The new smile. From this column's point of view, the chief notable feature of Senator Robert A. Taft's (R, Ohio) reply to the Truman message was that the Ohioan was being televised as he made it, resulting in, as we believe, a new note in Taft's voice which may well mark a revolu-

tion in American political controversy.

When Taft made his shot-from-the-hip reply to Truman's inflation message, it was a rasping, angry, snarling performance; the Taft speech last week had a new, purring, urbane ring to it. You could positively feel the diligent Senator putting the old personality into his smile as the television lights bored deeper.

It's easy to see the revolution that television is going to make in American public speaking, and something should be done to commemorate historic

January 8. Exit the political voice with a snarl; enter the televised voice with a smirk.

The budget. Truman showed real familiarity with the complicated budget when he unveiled it unofficially last week before a group of a hundred or so newspapermen in the White House. The annual-budget press seminar is conducted by the President down in the ground-floor "projection room."

Truman answered questions put to him by the comfortably seated correspondents for an hour, and it was noticeable that he rarely had to be prompted, as he did a year ago. Here again it was obvious that the Republicans would froth with rage over the \$39.7 billion Truman figure; but this year they are going to be a lot more careful not to get their fingers burned, as they did in 1947, with their rash promises to slash the total.

Truman did a conscientious job, last year and this, to cut down expenses, and he points out now that about four-fifths of the proposed expenditures are those which will be very hard to trim, representing national defense, international affairs, veterans' benefits and debt interest.

Nevertheless, the Republicans are committed to trim them. They have to find the money somehow, some-



where, for their proposed \$5.3 billion tax cut.

There is one major point of attack—proposed US aid for world recovery. Besides being inflationary in itself, circumstances are shaping whereby the proposed GOP tax cut, if it goes through, will probably be taken out of funds otherwise authorized for ERP.

Aid to Europe. We watched Secretary of State George C. Marshall last week present his case for ERP to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and we should be less than candid not to set down how greatly impressed we were. Midwest isolationists in the House, sharpening their knives against

ERP, and Senator Taft, using every effort to deride the whole conception, made the tense situation Marshall faced. He is a towering figure. We note that he reminds Walter Lippmann of George Washington, while James Reston of the *New York Times* refers to his "moral grandeur."

Marshall told the committee in calm, simple words that if they were intent on making it a *relief* instead of a *recovery* program, it would be better not to enter upon it at all. He said strings should not be tied to it which would "in effect, destroy the whole moral justification for our coöperative assistance toward European partnership."

He rejected the proposal of Representative Christian A. Herter (R, Mass.) to set up a cumbersome, eight-man bipartisan corporation, and said you needed, above all, the flexibility of one-man administration. He slapped down the bright idea of egregious Senator Alexander Wiley (R, Wis.) that aid should be made contingent on the United States's receiving naval bases.

If the Marshall Plan, or its remnants, gets through Congress (of which we have some doubt), it will be due as much as anything to the massive character of one man—the man who proposed it.

Washington

T. R. P.



"Liberations." Major General William G. Livesay, chief of the US military mission in Greece, has announced that operations against Greek guerrillas will be "completed" by spring. It will be the fourth "liberation" in a half-dozen years for many Greeks.

In 1941 the Italians, and then the Germans, "liberated" Greece. Adolf Hitler declared, as his troops invaded, that "the fight on Greek soil is not a battle against the Greek people; but against the archenemy, England."

In 1944 the British came back. With the Nazis gone, they turned their weapons on Hitler's old foes, the guer-

rillas, whom Winston Churchill called Communists because they opposed the royalist government.

Now the US has taken over the job. We are providing 75-millimeter guns and ammunition, as well as military "advisers." The US cruiser Little Rock stands by in Piraeus Harbor; in Italian ports two more cruisers and the carrier Midway await orders. To these vessels, the Department of Defense has now ordered 1,000 Marines, accompanied by flame-throwers, tanks, trucks, guns and jeeps.

Meanwhile Washington repeats that its quarrel is not with the Greek people, but with the Communists.

**THE WEEK**

DURING the relatively peaceful days between the end of the shooting war and the beginning of the Cold One, many a GI in foreign lands ended his letter home with expressions of especially tender sentiments for his children—worth 12 points toward discharge.

Political sages doubt that Harry Truman's proposal of a \$40-every-March 15 for every dependent of every taxpayer will be voted by the GOP. But it might do a lot for American family life. We can imagine Papa putting down the sports pages at the kiddies' bedtime to bestow a loving kiss on each shining forehead—"Good-night, my little \$40; sleep well, my little cost-of-living bonus."

MORE BRASS

Kuter. President Truman's abrupt dismissal of Civil Aeronautics Board Chairman James M. Landis attracted so much unfavorable publicity that the choice of his successor was given unusually careful consideration at the White House.

Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman had favored our conservative Ambassador to Poland, Stanton Griffis, for the job. But after the furore raised over the firing of New Dealer Landis, the President concluded that a former Wall Street investment broker was not the best political choice at the moment.

With Truman, on appointments, if it isn't Wall Street, it most often is the military. Major General Laurence S. Kuter of the Air Forces, 42-year-old West Pointer, was happy to take the job—if the President would fix it so that he could hold the civilian post and his Army status at the same time—and if he could continue to draw his Army pay. The CAB chairmanship pays \$10,000. General Kuter, with pay, allowances, etc., gets about \$19,000.

President Truman has asked Congress to approve these two little requests for the General before he formally sends the appointment to the Senate for confirmation.

Meanwhile, the big airlines have expressed approval of the choice, and the military branches of the government are delighted at the new territory they believe will now be open to them as result of the General's new position.

NAM NONSENSE

Figures. When the Bureau of Labor Statistics issued its survey last month showing that a family of four must have from \$3,004 to \$3,458 to live "adequately" in the US's 34 largest cities (the *NR*, January 5), the NAM was worried. Because the average wage in industry is now \$50.45 a week, or \$2,623 a year (assuming no layoffs or other interruptions of employment), they foresaw that unions might use the BLS survey in demanding a third round of wage increases in the spring.

So the NAM devised an answer for its members. First, it said, the BLS scale was more than adequate. But with only 24 cents per person per meal this could not be counted on to make too much of an impression.

The real stopper was this neat piece of arithmetic: there are 60 million persons employed. There are 37 million families. Therefore, each family must

have 1.6 wage earners. One wage earner makes \$2,623 a year, and six-tenths of a wage earner makes \$1,574. This totals \$4,197—handsomely above the BLS figure.

This, of course, is nonsense, which NAM could easily have found out by a phone call to the Bureau of the Census. There are 21.4 million urban families with one or more members in the labor force. Of these, eight million have two or more employed. Thus three US urban families out of five are dependent on one breadwinner.

The remainder of the 60 million is made up by the families which have more than two workers and by the multitude of those lonely people known to the statisticians as "single consumers." Moreover, of the families with two or more wage earners, it is safe to assume that a great many of them are childless young couples. Thus the three-out-of-five ratio must be even higher among families with children of non-working age.

UN-AMERICAN PLANS

Preview. J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.), chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, gave a radio preview last week of his 1948 plans. His 12-point program will include "spotlighting" more top-salaried Hollywood figures, a report on a six-month investigation of "Communist influences in the field of atomic energy," more hearings on "Communist domination of strategic labor unions," a report on "all Communist-front organizations operating in the US," and continued efforts to ferret out government workers "identified with communism."

The committee even plans at long last to submit to the House a series of bills designed to "break up the Com-

Legislative Guidance

THE Reverend Peter Marshall, the Senate Chaplain who often interlards his prayers with sage and worldly advice to his flock, opened the second session last week with this admonition: "... Save us from hotheads that would lead us to act foolishly and from cold feet that would keep us from acting at all."

munist conspiracy in America." The Subcommittee on Legislation, headed by Representative Richard M. Nixon (R, Calif.), will hold hearings on February 5 with Attorney General Tom Clark as the first witness. To date, the committee has never reported out a bill. The committee will consider legislation to "outlaw" the Communist Party, to strengthen the authority of the government in dealing with espionage, and to deal with "Communist aliens" illegally in the US.

Gerald, too. In an effort to make it appear that the committee hates the "totalitarian Right" as much as the Communists, committee member John McDowell (R, Pa.) will hold hearings on activities of those who spread "anti-racial and anti-religion propaganda." He may even call Gerald L. K. Smith, "nationalist" leader, to testify.

In his broadcast Thomas touted the committee's files on "subversives." He said that "during the past year 1,567 federal agents came to our offices for information on un-American individuals and organizations." That figure doesn't include the thousands of other requests from businessmen and other citizens, many of whom now consider the Thomas-Rankin committee even holier than J. Edgar Hoover's FBI.

CATHOLIC PROTEST

Ban. Acting in response to the complaints of Catholic parents, the superintendent of schools in Newark, New Jersey, has removed the *Nation* from the city's four high-school libraries because the magazine has published what he terms "three virulent anti-Catholic articles."

One of the articles, entitled "The Catholic Church in Medicine," states that "the priests of the Church are not only spiritual advisers to the Catholic physician and nurse; they exercise authority over them in many areas of professional life, particularly those of birth, death and sexual conduct." As an example, the article says a Catholic physician is not allowed to choose between the life of a woman and that of her unborn child.

Red Pauleys

MOSCOW (NR correspondent)

THE RUSSIANS have been reading the news about Edwin W. Pauley and other American commodity speculators with the greatest interest.

Speculators move in somewhat different circles here. Five persons have just been sentenced to long prison terms in a government campaign to stamp out speculation since the derationing and general price decrease. One man got seven years for speculating in a pair of galoshes. Three others received five years each for the same offense in the same commodity. The fifth offender got five years for trafficking in gloves. A. K.

Author Paul Blanshard also cited the discharge of 10 Massachusetts and Connecticut doctors from the staffs of Catholic hospitals because of their belief that physicians had a right to supply birth-control information to married patients.

When asked to outline specific passages he found offensive, Superintendent John S. Herron, himself a Catholic, answered, "I don't want to discuss the articles at all. We have the right to operate the schools as we see fit and to determine what books should be in the schools."

On the same day that Herron made his statement, Pope Pius XII declared in Rome that nations must guarantee "freedom of movement in the field of education of youth."

EVICTION, NAVY STYLE

Base. In the same manner that it drove natives off Bikini, the US Navy is now attempting to depopulate a Puerto Rican island and turn it into a military-training base. But where Bikini was only a sparsely inhabited, barren Pacific atoll, the island of Vieques is a fertile spot and one of the oldest communities in the Western Hemisphere.

Despite the frantic opposition of the Puerto Ricans, the Navy has ordered half of the inhabitants of Vieques to evacuate by the early part of

this year. The order will affect some 5,000 people and, if carried through, will cripple an agricultural economy which supports four sugar mills (producing 20,000 tons of sugar annually) and an extensive grazing industry.

The Navy, armed with a \$450 million appropriation, got set to take over Vieques in 1942, but took little action in the next five years. Now, two years after the end of the war, the Navy is renewing its drive to convert the isle into a naval base.

Calamity. To Puerto Rico, which does not have nearly enough arable land to support a tragically dense population, the removal of Vieques as a source of agricultural products is a national calamity. Professors and students of the University of Puerto Rico have condemned the uprooting of the islanders: "The case of Vieques is one of the gravest events that have taken place since the beginning of the United States occupation. It is the first time that action has been taken to eliminate an important nucleus of the social and cultural community of Puerto Rico and a part of the geographical patrimony of our fatherland."

The university's attitude is shared by the CGT (General Confederation of Labor). On behalf of 200,000 members, the CGT calls the Navy Department move an "unjustifiable act of aggression."

The islanders are not impressed with the Navy's explanation that they must give up their homes and livelihood in the interests of national (*i.e.*, US) defense. Instead, they ask bitterly what has become of Article 73 of the United Nations Charter dealing with non-self-governing territories, which stipulates that the "interests of the inhabitants are paramount."

THE ARMY'S BOOK PURGE

BERLIN (ONA correspondent)

Pressure. In its campaign to "democratize" the Germans, the US Army has clamped a heavy-handed censorship on all books and magazines which are supplied to information centers in the American-occupied sections of Bizonia.

Its action is the result of pressure by US congressmen.

Recently the Army dropped all books by American Negro writers in an effort to appease Southern Senators and Representatives who threatened to slash the Army and Military Government appropriation unless the books were removed from Army shipping lists. (Subsequently some of the books were quietly restored to "approved" status.)

The Army Civil Administration Division in Washington has also decided to keep the writings of Henry Wallace out of German libraries. Included in the ban are the texts of his speeches going back to the time he was Vice President. Division officers say their policy of title selection is due to "limited funds."

While both the *New Republic* and the *Nation* are sometimes on display at the reading rooms, Berlin officials say that the Army is reluctant to make available copies of the *New York Post*, and add that the only "safe" newspapers are the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*. The Army long ago barred the Communist *New York Daily Worker* from the information centers.

LESSON IN SPORTSMANSHIP

BALTIMORE (NR correspondent)

No luck. Teen-age members of the Fulton PCA Juniors basketball team have been trying to practise what their parents preach, but without success. The municipal Bureau of Recreation won't let them.

Early last month, the Fulton team, representing a west Baltimore neighborhood PCA unit, visited a city recreation center and played an impromptu game against a team of Negro boys. A second game was scheduled for the following week, but the Bureau of Recreation forbade it; the center, said the Bureau, was for Negroes only and could not be used by whites.

Meanwhile, the Fulton team invited two 15-year-old Negro boys, Carroll Gibson and Robert Carroll, to play with them. The newcomers were duly registered with recreation officials, and

on December 17 the Negro boys played their first league game with Fulton.

The next day, however, the referee reported the Negroes' participation to his superiors. Last week, as Fulton prepared to resume its schedule after the Christmas holidays, Manager Phil Boyer was told that the team could not be retained in the league unless it dropped its Negro players.

"Basic." Boyer refused, and wrote the Bureau that the request was "contrary to the basic democratic principles on which our government is founded, and it is contrary to the most elementary rules of fair play. . . . Furthermore, such a directive has no basis in law or in the regulations of your department."

At a meeting the next day, the Bureau conceded the latter point, but deferred a hearing on Boyer's appeal until January 20 and ordered the Fulton team's league games postponed

pending its decision. When the team gathered for its next practice, it was barred from the gym floor.

CRIMP IN CRUMP

NASHVILLE (NR correspondent)

Exodus. Old Boss Ed Crump, who has kept freedom out of Memphis for years, barred the Freedom Train from his town. But the liberal Nashville *Tennessean* ran ads in two leading Memphis papers inviting Memphians to Nashville to see the documents proclaiming freedom from the Crumps of today and yesterday.

So many people accepted that trains had to put on extra cars, and the Freedom Train had the biggest single day's attendance of its tour. The number might have been even greater if Crump hadn't kept the ad out of the Memphis morning paper on the day of the Delta Bowl game, when 40,000 visitors were in town.

A Voter's Dilemma

by E. M. Forster

This poem, by the distinguished English novelist, was written a quarter of a century ago and is reprinted from *Abinger Harvest*, a collection of Forster's works recently reissued by Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Nice Mr. Grey and Mr. Brown
Have recently arrived from town,
Their country's interests to promote.
I wonder how I ought to vote?
Each is so pleasant and so rich
I scarce remember which is which.
Each has a wife and a cigar,
Two daughters and a motor-car.
Each wears a watch-chain, and of course
Each has a Military Cross,
Won, during the Allies' advance,
Somewhere behind the lines in France.
And shares in steel and poison-gas,
And oil, and coal, so that—alas!—
I scarce distinguish what they say,
Nice Mr. Brown and Mr. Grey.

"Our difference" (they say to me)
"Lies in our fiscal policy."
Mr. Brown's a Conservative,
And certain products that arrive
From certain countries, he would tax—
I think he mentioned sealing-wax—
While Mr. Grey's a Liberal,

And wouldn't tax such things at all.
Each of them wears a fur great-coat:
I wonder how I ought to vote?

For if to either I impart
The word that's graven on my heart,
Nineteen-fourteen, they smile and say,
"We do not want a war today,
We don't want war as yet; our aim
Is (save for sealing-wax) the same.
We're merely wanting to get in,
And then—why then we can begin." . . .

And thus, whichever way I vote,
I get into the same old boat,
And Mr. Brown and Mr. Grey
Are rowing in the same old way—
The way of blood and fire and tears
And pestilence and profiteers—
The way that all mankind has been
Since nineteen hundred and fourteen.
Nice Mr. Grey! Nice Mr. Brown!
Why trouble to come down from town?

THIS WEEK ON CAPITOL HILL

THE STATE OF THE UNION, President Truman told an icily disinterested Congress, is pretty good, though it could be better. As he trotted into the crowded House arena the President looked like nothing so much as a slightly paunchy bantamweight getting the once-over from not too friendly customers. For 26 minutes his speech met with silence.

Only when he expressed a grudging determination to enforce the Taft-Hartley Act and touched on the need for strong national defense did he get any applause.

Nevertheless, Truman was speaking brave words about the continued need for social reforms in the US, more TVA's, slum-clearance, aid to education, extension and protection of civil rights, job insurance and other issues for which progressives have worked during 15 years of Democratic rule. Unfortunately, the way Truman speaks, it is hard to remember his words are brave and true.

The presidential delivery is not only monotonous; it is also without conviction. Truman lacks that "metaphysical" quality so useful to Presidents who could sway Congress and the people; and in its absence, the principles to which he expressed adherence will have to provide the leadership.

HCL. Rent controls must be extended and strengthened before they expire on February 28, he said. "We must deal effectively and at once with the high cost of living" (see below). In advocating a national health program, free school lunches and farm-price parity, he ranged the whole span of harassing problems on which the Republican-controlled Congress has shown a distinct disinclination to cooperate with the President.

In an election year when the White House and Congress are controlled by opposing parties, the State of the Union message is more a statement of faith by the President than a chart of proposed legislative action. With this in mind, Republican leaders were

quick to accuse the President of reiterating New Deal principles in an effort to keep progressive Democrats from deserting to Henry Wallace.

Whatever its motives, the message, as far as action goes, was less important than other presidential communications to follow on the budget (see below), civil rights and what to do about inflation. WILLIAM WALTON

Harriman's Sabotage

GOP delight. Toward the end of his State of the Union message, President Truman sternly told Congress: "The events which have occurred since I presented my 10-point anti-inflation program . . . in November have made it even clearer that all 10 points are essential. . . . We must deal effectively and at once with the high cost of living."

At that moment, the Administration's proposed bill for carrying out Truman's program was resting in the Senate and House Committees on Banking and Currency, awaiting hearings. In the opinion of leading price experts in Washington, this bill, if enacted, would have little or no more effect on the inflation spiral than will the Republican program of "voluntary" controls which the President has so heartily denounced. It is hard to see any resemblance between the President's words to Congress and the words in the bill he is asking Congress to pass.

Point 10 in the original Truman 10-point program called for "fixing price ceilings on products in short supply which basically affect the cost of living or industrial production, and . . . such wage ceilings as are essential to maintain the necessary price ceilings."

The bill that Senate Democratic leader Alben W. Barkley and Representative Brent Spence of Kentucky introduced at the request of the White House contains these provisions: "Price controls shall be confined to wholesale prices" except in the gravest emergencies; Congress shall have 30

days in which to approve or reject each and every ceiling price; no general price freeze is allowed; even temporary freezes on vital commodities are limited to 60 days; no enforcement machinery is set up—only regular US attorneys are available to carry out the criminal penalties provided for violations; after a price ceiling is set, the decision on when a wage ceiling is needed will be made ex-parte by a government-department head, with no labor voice being heard until the matter reaches the new tripartite Wage Stabilization Board provided for.

There is no hope for effective inflation control in this bill. It seems to have been drafted with only its political effectiveness in mind.

First error. If Truman was serious about his program, his original mistake was in choosing Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman to head the cabinet subcommittee named to draft the necessary legislation. Harriman's opposition to strong controls was no secret in the cabinet. His own proposals were almost identical with the Republican "voluntary" program. Even the conservative *United States News*, on this point, admits that: "The whole project is Mr. Harriman's idea, but his authority lies in the Republican anti-inflation bill."

When conscientious members of Harriman's staff and of other departments which were assigned to the drafting job presented the cabinet subcommittee with a strong control bill modeled on OPA principles, the Commerce Secretary frantically looked for a way out. Attorney General Tom Clark provided it. He had his assistant, John F. Sonnett, look over this proposal for possible anti-trust and enforcement problems.

When the New Dealers' draft came back from Justice, they couldn't recognize it. Harriman whisked the new version through his cabinet committee and sold Truman on transmitting it to Congress without further delay.

Thus far the Harriman fraud has re-

ceived little notice. Now, with Senate hearings in process, its magnitude may be revealed.

The system of setting maximum prices on commodities provided for in the Administration bill is an open invitation to speculation and logrolling. The 30-day period during which a maximum-price proposal would be up for congressional approval would invite speculation by those in that trade confident of their ability to win out with Congress. Before the OPA was killed, trade lobbies had become so expert in pressuring Congress that price-control authorities found the going tough even without the handicap of submitting every regulation to Capitol Hill.

Advance deals. In practice, after a few proposed maximum-price orders had been turned down by Congress, the Administration, if it wanted any ceilings at all to be approved, would find itself making deals in advance with the state delegations most interested in the commodity to be controlled. This would invite deals among the special-interest blocs in Congress itself, produce trader-dictated ceiling prices in most cases and prove time-consuming. Months of effort might at

most produce a twig to throw in the path of inflation.

The OPA quickly learned that the power to set a maximum price was no good without the power to require manufacturers to produce and distributors to keep products in the regular flow of trade. But the Barkley bill grants no authority to control production or distribution.

The proposal Harriman engineered mentions the level of prices from June 15-30, 1947, as a standard to follow "so far as practicable." Unfortunately it is not a practicable one under the terms of this bill. A return to June prices assumes a rollback. The Administration does not even request provision of funds for the subsidy payments that would be required for such a rollback.

OPA experience shows that the enforcement section of the Barkley bill would be almost useless. Criminal penalties, which are all this measure provides for violations, are much too hard to obtain. The OPA had to depend on civil actions for results. The complicated machinery of the Department of Justice and US attorneys' offices around the country are unsuited to the kind of flexible operation required to detect violations and fight continuously against injunctions.

The wage-control system proposed would disrupt collective bargaining throughout the country. Most employers would stall on new contracts until they knew just what wage and price ceilings they could expect. There would be endless haggling with the Wage Stabilization Board over "gross inequities" arising from increases "paid for comparable work in other industries"—which the board is charged with preventing. There is nothing in the proposed bill to stop the Wage-Price

Administrator from putting total wage controls on any industry which has even a single product under price control.

If President Truman wants a law with which to bring prices under control, this isn't it. If he wants a bill which will allow him to make a show of proposing price cuts which the Republican Congress will reject, this may serve him very well.

If Republican leaders were smart—there is no evidence to indicate it thus far—they would pass Truman's bill this spring when food prices soar completely out of sight, then sit back to reap a plentiful fall harvest of votes. The Administration would be powerless to do anything effective about prices and certain to make labor sore when it did something about wages.

The true measure of Truman's State of the Union message is to be found in specific performances like this, not in the words he spoke or the way he spoke them.

HELEN FULLER

The Budget Message

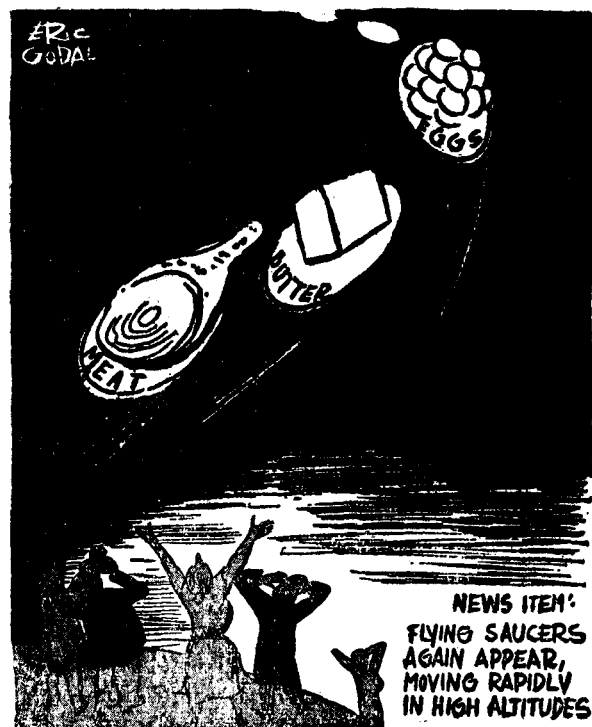
Outgo. On Monday, President Truman followed his State of the Union message and special message on foreign aid with an estimate of what it would cost. Like almost everything else, it will cost more than it did last year—\$39.7 against \$37.7 billion.

It could cost less.

The President said that with decreasing veteran costs, the end of UNRRA and post-UNRRA programs, and falling costs of general government due to the liquidation of wartime services, the costs under present legislation would be only \$34 billion. But he wants many new things for people at home and abroad, and these will cost \$5.7 billion.

The heaviest increase is for ERP. He has asked Congress for a supplemental appropriation of \$6.8 billion at this session. But his budget contains only \$4 billion for ERP.

This apparent discrepancy needs explaining. The budget is an estimate of expenditures in the fiscal year—from July 1, 1948, through June 30, 1949



THE NEWSPAPER PM

—not a recording of appropriations.

Truman estimates that even if Congress allowed the whole sum, only \$500 million could be spent this fiscal year, and \$4 billion next. However, the entire \$6.8 billion is needed so that the government can make commitments on an adequate scale.

The costs of occupation will go up a quarter-billion next year, too. A half-billion is set aside for a universal-military-training program, which the President apparently assumes will be in operation before the next fiscal year is out. National defense accounts for 28 percent of the new budget, as it did of this year's.

By comparison, the sum sought for the President's social program is modest. All the new proposals in social welfare, health and security, housing, education and research, agriculture, aids to transportation and communication, and the conservation and development of natural resources would cost \$664 million.

More for the NLRB. An interesting minor piece of news in the budget is that the Taft-Hartley Act is proving expensive. The NLRB will need \$3 million more next year than this year to administer it.

The fate of the budget in Congress is problematical and presents the GOP with a tough decision. As it stands, there is a surplus of \$4.8 billion that would go toward debt reduction.

The pending GOP tax bill would cut revenues \$5.3 billion. Yet it is Republican policy to retire some of the national debt. Last year the GOP, led by axeman John Taber (N. Y.), cut heavily into the Administration's social program, particularly conservation, irrigation and public power in the West. The protests were deafening from Western congressmen of both parties, and in an election year such cuts would be even more foolhardy. The military establishment is, of course, sacrosanct.

So the brunt of the GOP economy phobia will have to be borne by those who can't vote next November—that is to say, the hungry people all over the world.

JAN HASBROUCK

THE THIRD PARTY BEGINNINGS

IN THREE STATES, active and independent progressive parties already existed when Henry Wallace announced his decision to run for President in '48. These three—the American Labor Party in New York, the Independent Progressive Party in California and the Progressive Party in Illinois—some day could claim to have been the nucleus of the as yet unnamed third party. But within two weeks after Wallace's announcement a host of other organizations began to spring up, promising the Wallace movement a broader scope.

One of the primary sources of strength was, of course, the PCA, which had sponsored the former Vice President's speaking tours around the country and early had asked him to run. Under the spur of Wallace speeches, the PCA had grown to a membership of more than 50,000 in 25 states, strong especially in Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, California and other heavily populated states. PCA chapters everywhere commenced organization drives.

In addition to the PCA, new organizations, aimed primarily at promoting Wallace's candidacy, have been started in Michigan, Wisconsin, Oregon, Washington and Massachusetts.

To estimate Wallace's strength in anything but the most general terms was impossible two weeks after his announcement, 10 months before the election. What labor would do—the voting laborer as distinct from the labor leadership—was one of the great imponderables. Another was the role of youth and new voters whose political complexion is almost totally unknown because of the interruption of the war years. One straw was provided, however, in California, where a convention of students-for-Wallace was called. There were other signs, too, that Wallace would have strong appeal for young voters.

For supporters of the third party the immediate problem was not, however, the weighing of such imponderables. The problem definitely was how

to build new-party machinery quickly enough to give Wallace's ideas expression at the polls. The principal assets to the party-builders were the three existing independent parties, the PCA and the labor unions which have announced for Wallace.

Veterans. Two of the existing independent parties have had political experience. The American Labor Party is a veteran of 11 years in New York State politics. The Progressive Party in Illinois is newer, but showed surprising strength in Cook County judicial elections last November and gave the regular party bosses a fright by drawing 313,000 votes for its top candidate. The Independent Progressives of California, though lacking experience as a party, has the advantage of operating in territory friendly to new political movements.

The union of these three parties and the creation of other state parties like them are the foundation on which the third party is now being built.

Minnesota Report

MINNEAPOLIS (NR correspondent)

D-F-L. Independent progressives in Minnesota, an old stamping ground of the Grange, the Nonpartisan League and the Farmer-Labor Party, have been quick to support the candidacy of Henry Wallace. Among the already declared third-party backers are the Democratic-Farmer-Labor leader, former Governor Elmer A. Benson, and an "Independents-for-Wallace" committee formed by professional people, including numerous university professors and Dimitri Mitropoulos, conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra.

The big fight will be for control of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, which merged in 1944 to put Minnesota in the FDR column. Benson, an uncompromising fighter, represents the progressive farmer-labor elements within the party and is opposed by a Truman Democrat, young Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis.

Reports from NR Correspondents in Three Key Areas of the US

Already Humphrey, a national vice-chairman of the ADA, has tried to seize control of the D-F-L through a convention of young party members, but his action is being contested by older partisans, who now have the additional possibility of swinging the D-F-L behind Wallace. So far Wallace supporters have not asked top D-F-L leaders to commit themselves on the issue, a matter which must be decided for the party in a statewide convention.

Grass roots. Benson intends to carry his Wallace campaign to the grass roots of precinct and county meetings, where the state-convention delegates are chosen. If he were successful—and in Minnesota that is possible—a Wallace-pledged delegation might go to Philadelphia and Wallace electors appear on the state ballot under a Democratic-Farmer-Labor label. That would leave Truman in the uncomfortable position of running as an independent.

Neither the Truman nor the Stassen brands of liberalism have very wide appeal to independent voters here. And in Minnesota the progressives, unlike most of their brethren elsewhere, already have the machinery to make their will felt.

California Report

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

West wind. "There's a fresh, clean breeze sweeping through California . . ." says the radio speaking for the Independent Progressive Party.

The breeze, and also the party, sprang up last August when a meeting of 17 trade unions decided that the old political parties were no good for liberals. Banded together as a new party, the IPP now has something like 200 unions from the AFL, the CIO and the railroad brotherhoods. They have also brought in the PCA, Dr. Townsend's old-age pensioners and thousands of unattached citizens.

Even before Henry Wallace announced his candidacy, 7,000 door-

bell-ringers were out rounding up the 275,970 signatures that must be obtained to put the new party on the ballot under California law.

For them, Wallace's announcement was a wonderful shot in the arm. By January 9 they had an estimated 250,000 signatures and planned to try for 500,000 just to make certain there will be plenty if any petitions are challenged.

Last weekend, a meeting of 85 third-party organizers decided to step up the petition drive by enlisting 5,000 more signature gatherers. Elinor Kahn, state director of the drive, said, "We know that the necessary half-million signers are there. Our job is to get petitions to them."

Real campaign. In Oakland the IPP staged puppet shows of Dewey, Taft and Truman to attract crowds outside factory gates. Soundtrucks rumbled into many California counties. One man flew to San Francisco from Los Angeles in a private plane for more petition blanks when his supply ran low. A real third-party campaign was under way.

Democratic Party state chairman James Roosevelt said the creation of the IPP clears the way for a "Democratic revival," for a return to New Deal liberalism without fear of being tagged "Red."

So far, Robert W. Kenny, whose name is often coupled with a third-party movement, has had nothing to do with the IPP and apparently plans to work within the Democratic Party, where he is a leader of the Democrats-for-Wallace. His aim is to send a Wallace-pledged delegation from California to the Philadelphia convention.

At the moment the Democratic National Committee chairman, Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, is in California trying to unify the Democratic ranks and head off a Wallace-instructed delegation.

California newspapers have tried to spoof the IPP or dismiss it as "Red,"

but weather-conscious editors are devoting a lot of space to the "fresh, clean breeze."

New York Report

ALP walkout. The endorsement of Henry Wallace created a new split in the American Labor Party. Since its formation in 1936 to help reelect FDR, a function it thrice fulfilled, the ALP has always been harassed by internal dissension of the right-wing-v.-left-wing variety, but that was never sufficient to keep it from polling about a half-million votes in presidential years.

New ALP troubles came when 24 members of the ALP state executive committee resigned in protest against the endorsement of Wallace. Among them was state chairman Hyman Blumberg, who is also executive vice-president of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a union which has provided a good deal of the ALP's financial strength.

Though it was too early to be precise about the effect of the ALP split on the party's power, it looked as though the dissenters had taken with them the bulk of ALP finances as well as most of its seasoned political operators. The ALP probably has retained more than half its rank-and-file membership.

Sink or swim. Actually the ALP was in need of a new home, particularly since Boss Edward J. Flynn at the last election had forbidden Democratic congressional candidates to run with joint ALP-Democratic endorsement. That meant the ALP must sink or swim on its own, because it could not go on perpetually giving endorsements which would then be repudiated.

The ALP dissenters, as soon as they walked out, began to get propositions from the Liberal Party, which itself was formed by an earlier (1944) ALP split. The Liberals, whose Laski is A. A. Berle, did not have so much to offer, however, in the way of political power, and the dissenters seemed more likely to fall into Democratic arms.

HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

Third Parties and the American Tradition

IT IS OFTEN URGED that third parties are against the American tradition—a step in the direction of the multi-party systems which create confusion in European governments.

My contention is that third parties have been an absolutely essential part of American life and that without them the US would have been perpetually under the control of a wealthy oligarchy. Perhaps we should use "independent" or "progressive" party rather than "third" party, because the "new party" has sometimes turned out to be the "first party."

Looking back over 150 years, we see that a large part of our progress has been due to new parties. Jefferson, shocked by the Alien and Sedition Act, started to work on a new party in 1798 which remained continuously in power until 1824. Jackson started a new party in 1828 which remained in power most of the time until 1860.

The new parties which succeed usually take the place of or kill one of the old parties. Jackson's Democratic Party took the place of Jefferson's Republican Party.

It may have been no accident that the Republican Party, which was founded in 1854 at Ripon, Wisconsin, was given the same name as Jefferson's old party. The Democratic Party of the fifties had undoubtedly drifted far away from Jeffersonian ideals. But Abraham Lincoln had a high respect for those ideals, as is shown by his letter to the Jefferson Club of Boston in March of 1859. It was in this letter that Lincoln said he believed in both the "man" and the "dollar," but in case of conflict he believed in the man before the dollar. As long as Abraham Lincoln was President, the Republican Party was deserving of the honorable name of Jefferson's old party.

Turning now from the "new" par-

ties which became "first" or "second" parties, let us examine the contribution made by parties which flashed across the political sky and disappeared. Most of these have come into being during the political and economic turmoil following a great war and most of them have made proposals which the vested interests controlling the old parties didn't like. But a high percentage of the proposals were later enacted into law as the old parties strove to prevent the new parties from getting a foothold. Perhaps the most certain way to enact a fundamental and sound reform into legislation is to start a new party.

Labor parties. During the price decline and financial confusion following the War of 1812 and the Napoleonic Wars, American labor came into political consciousness for the first time. Its earliest efforts centered in Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

The Workingmen's Parties started in the 1820's and 1830's wanted first an 11-hour day, and finally they became so brave as to ask for a 10-hour day. They wanted to get paid in money which did not fluctuate in value. They demanded that men no longer be put into jail for debt. Above all, they wanted to stop monopolistic use of credit by the banks. They were suspicious of Andrew Jackson until he killed the US Bank in 1832. Those were the days when a man had to have a certain amount of property to hold office. The workingmen wanted to end indirect elections. These various labor parties won a number of local elections, and the programs they stood for were so sound that they held the balance of power for a time. A large part of their proposals were eventually enacted into law. It was a great triumph when Van Buren in 1840 cut the work-day of the government clerks to 10 hours.

The attacks on the labor parties more than a century ago were a foretaste of what we shall see in 1948. They were called anti-religious and accused of having connections with a lady so radical as to fight for women's rights and the abolition of slavery.

For a short time after his destruction of the US Bank, Jackson had most of the labor-party members in the Democratic Party. But they were not happy for long, for they soon reached the conclusion that there were too many conservatives in the Democratic Party and that the State Banks must be fought as well as the US Bank. In New York, they first tried to get control of Tammany, and when this proved impossible, they broke away. Under the name of the Equal Rights Party, they attacked monopoly, advocated collective bargaining in order to raise wages, and succeeded in electing three men to Congress.

Tammany was disgusted and accused the Equal Righters of allowing the Whigs to win victories by splitting the progressive vote. The Equal Righters came back by saying that they saw very little difference between a "National Bank Whig" and a "State Bank Democrat."

Even when Jackson was at the height of his power, labor was teaching the Democratic Party that it couldn't take labor's support for granted. When the great crash of 1837 came—almost as bad as that of 1929—the workers paraded with placards which could just as well be used in 1948, "Bread, meat, rent, fuel—their prices must come down."

In the 1840 campaign which the Whigs were destined to win because of the terrible depression of 1837, the Whigs presented their candidate as the poor man's friend, who stood for no reduction in wages. For the time being, the Equal Righters (popularly known as *Lonefocos*) had caused both parties to adopt their philosophy. When Van Buren kowtowed to them by follow-

ing liberal policies, he was denounced by reactionaries as having "surrendered to the hideous monster of Loco-focoism."

Republican Party. After 1836 the Democratic Party rotted away as it increasingly gave in to the forces of complacency and reaction on the issues of slavery and labor. More and more, labor felt it was in serious danger as long as slavery existed. Labor saw itself working for 10 cents a day as a result of increasing slave competition. Labor therefore was a very strong factor in founding the new party, known as the Republican Party, which at the outset was a sort of combination of Jeffersonianism with the equal-rights doctrines of the Locofocos and a strong stand against slavery. The conservative press denounced the new party, as the press always has and always will, but labor gave it greater support, especially after Lincoln in 1859 came out with a statement that was communistic by Thomas-Rankin standards:

"... Capital is the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed; labor can exist without capital, but capital could never have existed without labor. Hence labor is the superior... greatly the superior of capital." Lincoln later gave labor a good share of the credit for electing him in 1860.

The Republican Party did not remain a labor party very long. By 1869 there was so much disgust with it in Massachusetts that Wendell Phillips and his friends organized a Labor Reform Party, calling for an eight-hour day and equal pay for women.

Then a typical, postwar depression swept the land in the early seventies, bankrupting farmers and ruining labor unions. The great corporations rose to power, benefiting from government favors. These corporations, especially the railroads, exploited both the farmers and the workers. The one great issue was "anti-monopoly," and the farmers everywhere were denouncing Wall Street and the trusts.

At first they tried working within the Republican and Democratic Parties, but in both parties, and espe-

cially at the state level, they found the railroads and the money power completely entrenched. To get action they had to form new parties, and all over the US there was a rash of such parties at the state level. Several of them took over control of state governments but they found that the evils they fought could be met effectively only on a national scale. They wanted to control the railroads, enact a federal income tax and control the money system so that debt-ridden farmers would not be driven into bankruptcy.

Greenback Party. Many state efforts were merged to form the Greenback Party, which in 1874 at Indianapolis called for "a new political organization of the people, by the people and for the people, to restrain the aggressions of combined capital upon the rights and interests of the masses, to reduce taxation, correct abuses and to

purify all departments of the government."

During the Civil War the government had been pushed off the gold standard, and the currency dollar at one time was worth only half as much as the gold dollar. The bankers who had financed the war wanted the purchasing power of their bonds increased. They wanted to be paid back in gold dollars, not currency dollars. The farmers wanted more money put into circulation, produced either by printing presses or by the free coinage of silver.

At first the Greenback Party had no labor support and appealed chiefly to monetary theorists and mortgaged farmers from the West and South. Then labor was jarred out of its post-war shock by the violent suppression of the railroad strikes in 1877. When labor and the monetary theorists got together, the result was a national platform in 1880 calling for a graduated federal income tax, congressional regulation of interstate commerce, and women's suffrage. If the new party in 1948 can do as well in anticipating the needs of the future, I shall be very happy.

An Open Letter to Dr. C. G. Kuebler, President of Ripon College

While I was in Milwaukee on December 31, I learned that the little old schoolhouse which saw the birth of the Republican Party in February of 1854 is on your campus. I am told that it has been used from time to time to house fossils and stuffed birds, but that at present it serves no useful purpose and is in the way of your building program. I am also told that the town of Ripon has long since ceased to have any interest in this little building.

In view of the fact that the present-day Republican Party no longer has any interest in the opinions of those who met in this building in 1854, and in view of the fact that you have already moved it frequently from spot to spot, I am asking you to quote me your price. I wish to move it by truck to my farm at South Salem, New York, where I am sure that the members of our new party will pay it the reverence to which it is entitled.

People's Party. The first really hard-hitting farmer-labor party fighting the Wall Street domination of the Republicans and Democrats was born at Omaha, Nebraska, in July of 1892. It was called the People's Party, and served as the seedbed for most of the good ideas which blossomed later under Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Universally ridiculed by the conservative press, it called for crop loans, free coinage of silver, and government ownership of the nation's railroad, telephone and telegraph systems.

Cleveland and the Democrats had followed an anti-labor policy which incurred the wrath of the Populists, but when the Republicans won sweeping congressional victories in 1894, the Democrats decided they had better go progressive again.

In 1896 the Democrats practically absorbed the Populists by coming out for most of the Populist ideas. Because

the Populist movement had been so strong in the South, poll-tax laws were passed between 1899 and 1903 in 10 Southern states in order to disfranchise the poor, both white and Negro. This cut the heart out of the Populist movement and made the Southern wing of the Democratic Party so reactionary that the party has had a split personality ever since.

TR and La Follette. The Bull Moose Party led by Teddy Roosevelt in 1912 was founded more on a man than on ideas. It took over the language of Bryan and the Populists and talked with great enthusiasm about "trust busting." The Roosevelt name had terrific glamor, but the old-fashioned Populists were suspicious and most of the progressives voted for Wilson. Wilson would have won even if Teddy had not split the Republican vote.

The chief value of the Bull Moose Party was to give expression to Republican progressivism which had lain dormant since the time of Abraham Lincoln. Hundreds of men who received their first political experience working for Teddy in 1912 later worked for FDR with even greater enthusiasm in 1932. FDR himself was undoubtedly enormously influenced by Teddy, and I am convinced that the whole course of the New Deal would have been completely different if the Bull Moosers had not fought corporate control of the US in 1912.

The La Follette third party of 1924 did not win as many electoral votes as the Bull Moose effort, but it was more significant in keeping the Progressive flame alight at a time when both old parties were completely decadent. Bob had a stronger standing with labor than did Teddy, and many of the points he made in his statement of principles at the time of the Progressive Convention at Cleveland, in 1924, apply today: ". . . Neither party can be trusted to keep its promises. Both parties within the last quarter of a century have regarded their platforms, as they regard them today, not as a contract with the people and a program of action, but as devices to catch votes and to gain political office,

with all its opportunities for personal aggrandizement and private profit for those who are willing to betray a public trust. To break the combined power of the private monopoly system over the political and economic life of the American people is the one paramount issue of the 1924 campaign."

Perfect parallel. Today it is only necessary to change the year 1924 to 1948 and the words "American people" to "people of the entire world."

La Follette singled out the Red-baiting Democratic Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer for attack. "In the last years of the Democratic Administration under the notorious regime of Attorney General Palmer, monopoly was recognized as beyond the reach of the law, while labor unions, farmers' organizations and individual citizens daring to assert their constitutional rights against this tyrannical power were singled out for attack and destruction. In 1920, the American people expressed their resentment at their betrayal at the hands of the Democratic Party by defeating it with the greatest popular majority ever cast against a political party in the history of the country."

Having paid his respects to the Democrats, La Follette denounced the corruption of the Republican cabinet and went on to sum up: "The organized banking interests which own the railroads, control credit and dominate the industrial life of the nation will further oppress labor, rob the consumer and, by extortionate railroad rates and dictation of the terms of credit, reduce agriculture to the level of European peasantry if longer permitted to control this government. The ill gotten surplus capital acquired by exploiting the resources and people of our country begets the imperialism which hunts down and exploits the natural resources and the people of foreign countries, erects huge armaments for the protection of its investments, breeds international strife in the markets of the world and inevitably leads to war. . . .

"It is idle to hope to control the ex-

penditures for our military establishment, or to rely on the making of treaties for disarmament, or to take any action for the preservation of peace and good will among nations, under an American President and Congress elected and controlled by an organized monopoly power which knows no law but might and greed and enjoys its greatest profits in time of war."

Peace meant so much to Bob La Follette that he closed his message to the convention with this sentence: "Promote firm treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments, and guarantee public referenda on peace and war."

Undoubtedly the Progressive drive was better considered than the Bull Moose campaign. Teddy was a saberrattler and at times an imperialist. Bob understood the relationship between progressivism at home and peace abroad.

Hundreds of the New Dealers who worked for Roosevelt in 1932 were Progressives in 1924, and if La Follette had not run in 1924 the Roosevelt program in 1933 would have been seriously weakened. In retrospect I criticize Bob for not starting the Progressive Party in 1920 instead of 1924. It is important to have a "going" party established before the serious depression comes.

The lesson. As a result of this brief survey of the history of third parties I am more than ever convinced that third parties have a significance far greater than is ever admitted in most of the press, and that it was vital to start a new party in 1948.

When, in addition, the world peace situation is taken into account, a person in my position could reach no conclusion but that he must do everything possible to make the new party of 1948 even more significant than previous third parties. The weakhearted liberals have left us and we are now ready to build.

Henry A. Wallace

A SUCCESSFUL THIRD PARTY

In England it took long years of hard work to get labor support for Fabian ideas, but the result was the Labor Party victory in 1945 **by Norman MacKenzie**

CAN EITHER of our two great traditional parties be won for a progressive policy? If not, should the trade unions form an alliance with liberal groups to form a new party, which will nominate its own candidates and present its own program at elections?

These questions are not quoted from discussions heard in America today. They were asked 50 years ago in England, at a time when the unions found that it was virtually impossible to win the Liberal Party machine for their policy of gradualist socialism through state and municipal action.

Long fight. It took time and a good deal of trouble to find the answers. Once the Labor Party was created as a federation of the trade unions and a number of small political bodies, it had to fight hard as a minority party before it could win its millions of affiliated and individual members and attract sufficient voters to win, in 1945, an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons.

Why was it done? How was it done?

Until the last 20 years of the nineteenth century, it was not possible to build an independent labor party to act as the champion of social reform. About 1880, most unions were small craft organizations, and no serious attempt had been made to unionize the unskilled. Fewer than two million people possessed the vote in a total population of 26 million, and only a fraction of these were workers in any real sense of the word. It was 1918 before women were permitted to vote at all. It was 1928 before every

citizen older than twenty-one was enfranchised. In a country like England, where the greater part of the population consists of wage-earners, each extension of the electorate directly strengthened the party which claimed, primarily, to represent their interests.

Political apathy. It is unlikely, however, that the workers would have formed their own party sooner even had they been able to vote. The fairly prosperous members of the craft unions, the only organized nucleus, had little sympathy with the few dissidents on the Left who wanted to push them into political action. As individuals, they voted for the local Tory or Liberal candidate as they chose. Industrial disputes were another matter, properly to be dealt with by bargaining directly with employers, or, in the last resort, by strikes. As long as the politicians of both the traditional parties did not directly attack the basic right to organize, and sponsored a few reforms in factory legislation, housing and extension of the vote, the workers saw no good reason to form a separate party.

One reason for this was the acceptance, by union leaders and usually by the rank and file, of all the classic doctrines of the laissez-faire economists. They considered that their conditions of life and work were on the whole regulated by inexorable economic laws which they could do little to alter. Although Karl Marx had lived and worked in England, had in fact been in close personal touch with the most prominent union leaders, English workers knew or cared little whether Marxist theories had any application to England. The Marxist thesis that society is divided into two warring groups did not ring true to a worker who saw many English employers ac-

tively criticizing social evils and promoting measures to alleviate them. Above all, industrial capitalism in England did not appear to be headed for unavoidable economic collapse.

Sometimes unions were pricked into political activity. When, in 1867, a court decision deprived unions of the right to recover funds embezzled by a member or official, the answer of the London unions was a manifesto calling for the return of workingmen to the House of Commons to promote legislation protecting union finances and to demand, at the same time, a few basic reforms such as a housing program and national free education.

Again, in 1871, when Gladstone was Prime Minister of a Liberal cabinet, a new law clearly defined the status of trade unions as agencies for collective bargaining but made picketing a criminal offense, thus permitting the unions to negotiate freely but denying them the right to strike if negotiations broke down. Stung again, the unions formed a new body, the Labor Representation League, which put up 13 candidates on a slate standing for "religious equality, sound national finance, land and electoral reform" and won for two miners the honor of being the first real Labor members of Parliament. Yet, only a year later, it was the leaders of this same League who declared: "We have ever sought to be allied to the great Liberal Party, to which we, by conviction, belong."

These examples are typical. Provoked occasionally into taking an independent political stand, the unions rapidly lost interest as soon as the immediate cause for complaint was remedied and fitted back into the two-party system, with which, sharing the assumptions on which the Liberal and Tory Parties were based, they had no real quarrel.

Slipping supremacy. But this situation could not last indefinitely. As the nineteenth century moved toward its close and the pressure of foreign competition became serious, British industrial supremacy no longer went unchallenged. This change naturally had repercussions on the condition

Norman MacKenzie, at present on leave from the editorial staff of the *London New Statesman and Nation*, is the author of two books: *Argentina* (1946) and *Outline History of Socialism*, to be published in 1948.

opinions of the workers. In 1868, unions formed a body which became the Trades Union Congress. At that time, the unions were threatened with new legislation which would have penalized and hampered every aspect of their activity. They needed a central body which could coördinate their activities, act as their spokesman and keep a watchful eye on political developments affecting labor.

The TUC has met annually ever since. Though it is a federal organization which lacks strong powers over its member unions, it has spoken on their behalf with increasing authority over the years. Together with the representatives of the Coöperative Movement and the Labor Party, it today forms the National Council of Labor, which is a clearing center for all that affect the labor movement as a whole. Its elected General Secretary is one of the most powerful men in the country. Until the foundation of the Labor Party, the TUC was the only effective voice of labor

and, as such, its sessions were a battleground for the Socialists, who sought to win the unions for political action.

The great crusade for the organization of the unskilled—launched by the famous London dock strike in 1889—and the emergence of small but active Socialist propaganda groups in the eighties and early nineties were also signs of growing unrest and dissatisfaction among the workers.

Gas and water. For some time, too, Joseph Chamberlain, successful Birmingham businessman and a prominent Liberal, had made his city a pioneer of municipal enterprise—of what later was called “gas and water socialism”—and advanced a national Radical program of social services around which reformers could rally. *Progress and Poverty* was winning recruits for the single tax and reformist socialism. The church, too, was affected by the contemporary exposures of scandalous poverty, which was the lot of millions.

But, if fault were found with some

features of industrial capitalism, there were few voices proclaiming either its inevitable doom or the necessity of replacing it by socialism. A small group of Marxists, who knew little of Marx and would have nothing to do with trade unions, which they regarded as reactionary and obstructive, preached their creed tirelessly and ineffectively. A wider but less coherent collection of reformist socialists, basing their arguments primarily on moral and emotional grounds, was active in the industrial districts. But, as yet, there was neither a clear philosophy nor a party which could claim the leadership of both workers and reformers.

The philosophy, ultimately, was provided by the Fabian Society. This brilliant group, of whom Sidney Webb and Bernard Shaw are the best known, set out systematically to study the structure of English society and to work out a series of specific reforms which, it believed, would carry England along the road to socialism. The Fabians did not believe that capitalism was either due for a series of profound



WORKERS DEMONSTRATE FOR REFORM: BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND, 1838

THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

economic crises or that it should be overthrown. They believed in democratic government, but thought that more and more state intervention would be required if the economy was to function both efficiently and in the social interest.

This process, the Fabians were convinced, was inevitable and would be carried forward whether Liberal or Tory was in office. Their job was to suggest concrete measures for better administration and to focus attention upon abuses that required reform or services which were ripe for socialization either by the state or by municipal authorities. All this, the Fabians insisted, could be done within the existing social system and be carried out by the traditional political machines.

The Fabians never made a serious effort to convert the Tory Party, but for nearly 20 years they worked hard to win the Liberals. In London, they and their Liberal allies dominated municipal affairs in the County Council for a time.

Fabian brain trust. The strength of the Fabian Society, paradoxically, lay in its refusal to become a mass organization. It left the tasks of conversion and building a political machine to others. A unique group, its members preferred to keep the Society small in size and high in quality, to act as the "brain trust" of progress and to intervene as little as possible in the rough and tumble of politics. They made an indelible mark on social thought in Britain. At the same time, labor was building its machine and looking for a coherent philosophy. The Fabians had the philosophy and lacked the machine. The advantages of marriage were pretty obvious.

The Socialists who attended the annual sessions of the Trades Union Congress from the eighties onward, put down motions calling for a "distinct Labor Party, with a proper program," almost every year. At first they had little success. Frustrated in their attempt to carry the Congress, the Socialists formed small labor parties. Under the leadership of Keir Hardie, the Scottish miners' leader who had

Labor and Political Action

ENGLAND

1868. Unions form central labor body which later becomes British Trades Union Congress.

1871. After picketing was made a criminal offense, Labor Representation League was created and two miners elected to Parliament.

1883. Intellectuals form Fabian Society, which later becomes Labor brain trust.

1889. London dock strike, followed by nationwide drive to organize unskilled laborers.

1893. Independent Labor Party formed under Keir Hardie, parliamentary leader.

1900. Conference in London, representing about 50 percent of unions and headed by new Labor Representation Committee. Action leads to creation of Labor Party.

1901. Taff-Vale judgment makes unions calling strikes liable for damages. Action forces reluctant unions into Labor Party.

1909. Injunction prohibits use of union funds for political action, forcing labor to work for liberalized legislation.

1918. Labor Party adopts Socialist program based on Fabian philosophy.

1924. Labor Party government formed with Liberal support. Government lasts nine months under Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald.

1926. General Strike called. Prime Minister Baldwin succeeds in breaking it.

1929-31. Labor minority government formed under MacDonald, ending with British financial crisis and formation by MacDonald of "National" government, splitting labor.

1940. Labor Party included in Coalition Government of Winston Churchill.

1945. Labor Party wins election landslide. First majority Labor Government formed under Prime Minister Attlee.

AMERICA

1820's-30's. Local labor parties formed in about 15 states; several candidates elected in Philadelphia (1828); 50 labor papers are published, but whole movement disappears by 1832.

1869. Knights of Labor formed, reaches peak of more than 700,000 members in 1886. Declines and virtually disappears by 1900.

1872. National Labor Reform Party nominates Charles O'Connor for President, polling 30,000 votes. Party amalgamates with Independent Nationals in 1878 to form Greenback Labor Party, led by James B. Weaver. Place taken by Union Labor Party about 1888.

1877. Socialist Labor Party marks beginning of US political socialism. Socialist Democratic Party formed after split (1898); later becomes Socialist Party.

1881. Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions formed; name changed to American Federation of Labor (1886).

1892. People's Party (Populists) formed by farmers. Platform similar to Union Labor Party. Elected five Senators, 10 Representatives (1892). Endorsed Bryan (1896).

1905. Industrial Workers of the World founded. Suppressed during World War I.

1924. Progressive Party (La Follette), backed by AFL endorsement, polls five million votes.

1933. Roosevelt and New Deal in power.

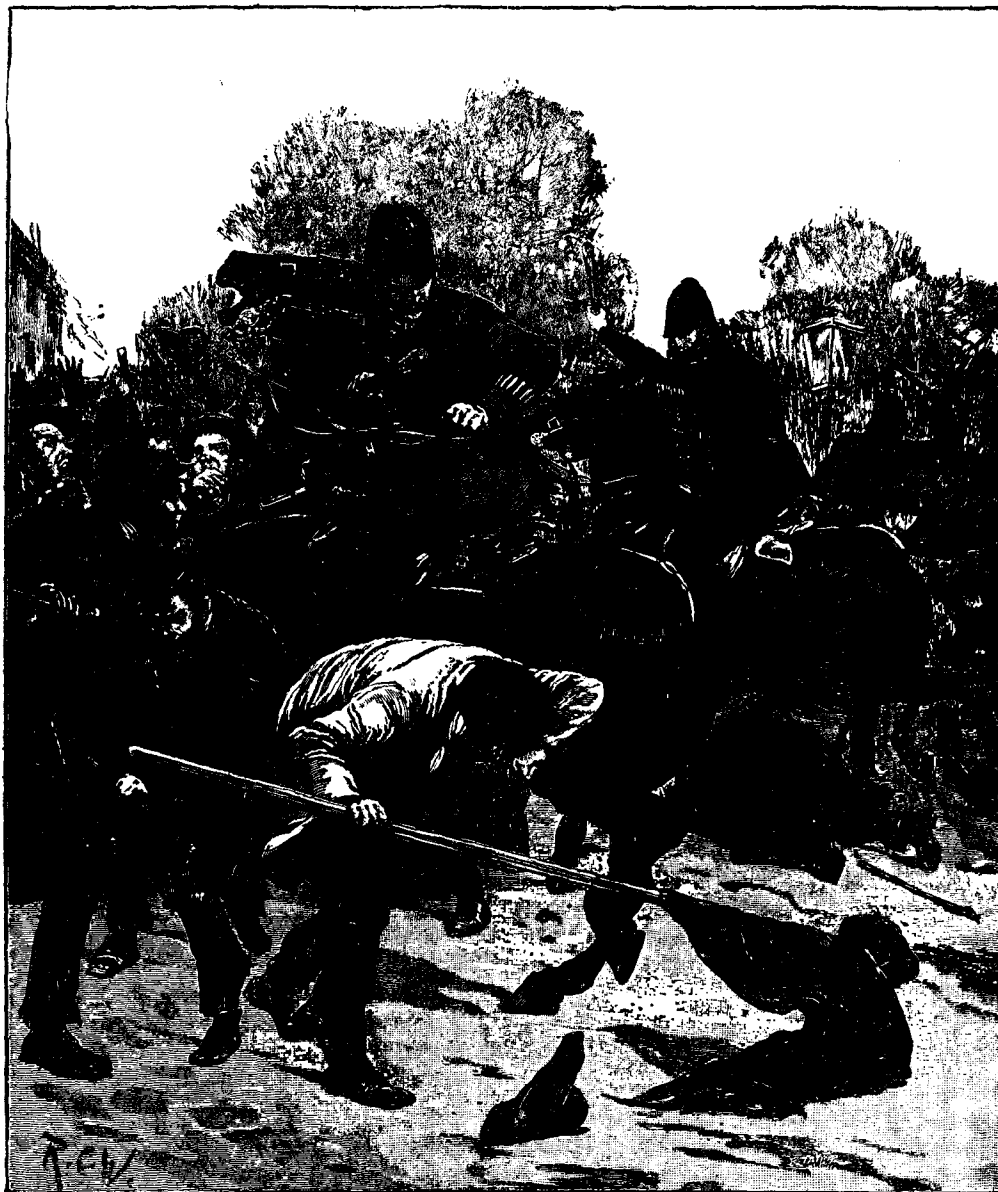
1935. CIO formed; expelled from AFL (1937). Formally organized under present name, 1938.

1935. National Labor Relations Act passed.

1936. Labor's Nonpartisan League and American Labor Party (New York) formed.

1943. CIO Political Action Committee formed.

1947. Taft-Hartley Act passed. AFL forms Labor's League for Political Education.



THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

POLICE BREAK UP HYDE PARK MEETING OF UNEMPLOYED: LONDON, 1887

become disillusioned with official liberalism, these parties eventually fused in 1893 to form the Independent Labor Party, dedicated to a simple but definite Socialist policy.

Hardie himself was sent to Parliament, where his rugged individuality—he refused to wear court dress and wore a workman's cap in Parliament—made him a striking pioneer figure. But he realized that there was little hope of building the party he desired while the unions remained aloof.

At the TUC of 1899, a motion was carried by the narrow margin of 546,000 to 434,000, calling a special conference to "devise ways and means for securing the return of an increased

number of Labor Members of Parliament." In February, 1900, the conference was held in London, attended by union delegates representing about half the organized workers and by the small Socialist propaganda groups.

After a debate in which a Marxist attempt to tie the new party to a distinct Socialist program was defeated, the conference went on record for nothing more than the establishment of a distinct Labor group in Parliament, pledged to support any party which would sponsor legislation in the interests of labor and to oppose anti-labor policies. That was all, but the Labor Party was at last launched on its career. It might have died a quick

death, but less than a year later, the famous Taff Vale judgment rallied the hitherto hesitant unions behind it.

This judgment struck hard at labor's rights. It followed a railway strike in Wales. The company sued the rail union for civil damages caused by the interruption of traffic during the strike, and won \$100,000 damages. This action made strikes impossible for fear of ruinous actions for damages. The unions had to swing their support to the new party and behind many Liberal candidates, pledged to introduce protective legislation. In the election of 1906, the Liberals swept the country and carried 29 Labor candidates in at their tail. The unions got their Act of Parliament and labor had a party.

But the Labor MP's, now officially a party, did little more than act as a radical pressure group on the fringe of the powerful Liberals. A number of trade-union

leaders, in fact, remained in the House of Commons as Liberals. Not until the mineworkers joined the Labor Party in 1908 did the 10 miners' representatives nominally desert the Liberal for the Labor camp. In these years, trade-union financial support for the new party dwindled.

Another unfavorable court decision saved the party. Up till 1909, the trade unions had devoted part of their funds to political action. In that year, a minor union official named Osborne sought and secured an injunction to prevent his union from spending money for political purposes. Not only did this decision deprive the Labor Party of its financial backing, but it

meant that the unions would have to confine themselves to industrial issues narrowly conceived. This was too much for even the moderate unionists. Although the Labor Party lived for a few years on a shoestring, the unions had by now realized the value of a party of their own. After a hard fight, they won new legislation permitting them to raise money.

Balance of power. When war broke out in 1914, Labor held the balance of power in Parliament. The elections of 1911, fought by the Liberals to restrict the strength of the House of Lords, had reduced the Liberal Party to 275 members. The Tories had 273; Labor 40. Though this seemed to place Labor in a strong bargaining position, the party was afraid to vote against the Liberal Government for fear of forcing an election which the Tories would win.

The war changed all that. The Liberal Party was broken into two warring wings, the Left more sympathetic to Labor, the Right to the Tories. Divided and confused, the Liberals were unable to face the challenge of a young Labor Party to which the social upheaval and strain of the war years had brought millions of new followers. In 1918, for the first time, the Labor Party adopted a nominally socialist program based essentially upon the Fabian philosophy. The hold of Liberal ideas on the unions had gone for good. New men, young men, came into responsibility and power. At the same time, the Labor Party opened its ranks to individual members, organized them into local-constituency branches and prepared to fight every possible election.

By 1924, James Ramsay MacDonald, who had been secretary of the party at its birth and who was later to desert his party in the 1931 crisis, formed the first minority Labor Government. Five years later, he formed another, again dependent on Liberal approval. His defection, coupled with the panic conditions of the crisis, reduced the Labor strength in Parliament to little more than 50. Though the party recovered 154 seats in 1935,

it took the radicalizing impact of another war and the results of a generation of propagandist activity to produce the Labor sweep of 1945.

To sum up. This has been the history of the British Labor Party. But what conclusions can be drawn from its experience?

❏ Isolated progressive groups could have made little headway electorally. Success required the extension of the franchise and the organized numbers and the money of the unions to launch a successful party.

❏ No amount of propaganda activity could have convinced the unions of the need for an independent party unless the unions had found their legal status and their financial resources threatened by either legislation or judicial decisions. For years the Socialists had to be content with little more than starting a distinct party and had to accept its close coöperation with the Liberal Party.

❏ The electoral work had to be done mainly by the tiny political groups which were part of the federal structure of the Labor Party, dominated then as now by the unions. For nearly a generation this work called for electoral alliances with the Liberals (particularly joint tickets), for hopeless propagandist contests, for candidatures in village, town and county-council elections, and for attention to local as much as to national and foreign affairs. All the while local organizations were being built and administrative experience gained.

❏ The Fabian Society contributed more than a general philosophy of democratic socialization by parliamentary means, ultimately acceptable to cautious union leaders. Acting as a research center, it provided the labor and reform movement with detailed statistical and administrative information. A party could have been built on the specific industrial issues which agitated the unions, but it is doubtful whether it would have lasted once the grievances were removed.

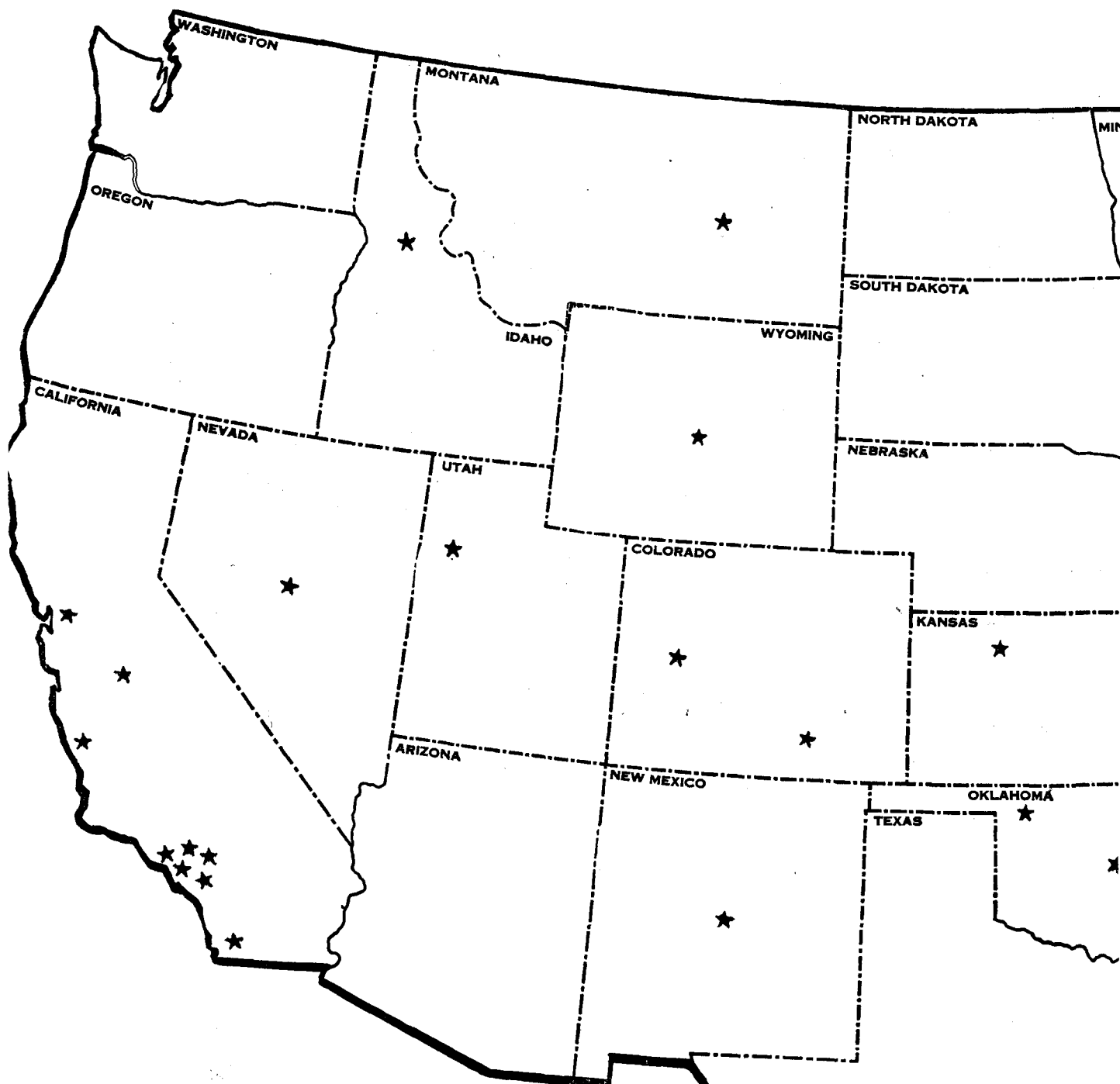
❏ Since the Labor Party is not com-

mitted to a theory of class war, it has been able to operate peacefully and constitutionally without raising fears of ruin and catastrophe in the minds of millions of citizens who, though not convinced Socialists, are prepared to accept the main outlines of its doctrine of social reform. It has gained its present standing as a national party, drawing votes from workers, farmers, professionals and shopkeepers alike, in local as much or more than parliamentary elections, because it has always made it clear that its policy is determined by the demands of experience and not by doctrinaire hostility to private ownership or free enterprise.

❏ It has succeeded, after the decline of the Liberal Party, in establishing once more the traditional two-party pattern with which a parliamentary system has been proved to operate most effectively. Circumstances broke the Liberal Party, it is true, but it was those same circumstances that produced the Labor Party at the very moment when a third party could break through and consolidate its position.

❏ Finally, England is a small country, with only one important legislature, supreme over minor elected bodies if it chooses to exert its authority, in no way subject to a written constitution and able without serious difficulty to reverse judicial decisions with which the electorate or even the House of Commons disagrees. If any one of these conditions had been absent, it would have been far harder to build the Labor Party. It is more probable that the Liberals would, more slowly, have moved to the Left and become the spokesmen of the unions and of some variant of Fabian socialism.

But the Labor Party *was* built and is in power today. It still retains clearly the marks of the forces and conditions that gave it birth. For that reason it is still fundamentally a liberal body, based upon moral as much as social scientific conviction. Empirical, democratic and sometimes confused, it is still working out its precise role as the residuary legatee of the English tradition of social progress.



Progressive Targets for 1948

Divided on a third party, labor and progressive groups can work together for the best possible Congress in 1948. For organized labor, this means working to defeat the following supporters of the Taft-Hartley Act whose districts are starred in the map:

CALIFORNIA: J. J. Allen Jr. (R); Bertrand W. Gearhart (R); E. K. Bramblett (R); R. M. Nixon (R); Norris Paulson (R); D. L. Jackson (R); W. W. Bradley (R); Carl Hinshaw (R); C. K. Fletcher (R).

COLORADO: J. E. Chenoweth (R); R. F. Rockwell (R).

CONNECTICUT: W. J. Miller (R); Horace Seely-Brown Jr. (R); E. B. Foote (R); J. D. Lodge (R); J. T. Patterson (R); A. N. Sadlak (R).

DELAWARE: J. C. Boggs (R).

IDAHO: A. M. Goff (R).

INDIANA: R. A. Grant (R); G. W. Gillie (R); F. A. Harness (R); N. J. Johnson (R); G. W. Landis (R); E. A. Mitchell (R); Earl Wilson (R).

IOWA: K. M. LeCompte (R); Paul Cunningham (R).

KANSAS: E. P. Scrivner (R); H. A. Meyer (R); E. H. Rees (R); Wint Smith (R).

KENTUCKY: T. B. Morton (R); F. L. Chelf (D); Virgil Chapman (D); W. H. Meade (R).

MARYLAND: E. T. Miller (R); H. A. Meade (D); G. H. Fallon (D); L. G. Sasser (D); J. G. Beall (R).

MASSACHUSETTS: J. W. Heseltin (R); C. R. Clason (R).

MICHIGAN: W. W. Blackney (R); H. A. Coffin (R); H. F. Youngblood (R).

MINNESOTA: George MacKinnon (R); E. J. Devitt (R); W. H. Judd (R); Harold Knutson (R).

MISSOURI: Wat Arnold (R); Max Schwabe (R); W. C. Cole (R); C. J. Bell (D); A. L. Reeves (R); M. T. Bennett (R); P. M. Banta (R); C. I. Bokerwell (R); W. C. Ploeser (R).

MONTANA: W. A. D'Ewart (R).

NEBRASKA: H. H. Buffett (R).

NEVADA: C. H. Russell (R).

NEW JERSEY: F. A. Mathews Jr. (R); P. A. Hartley Jr. (R).

NEW MEXICO: A. M. Fernandez (D); G. L. Lusk (D).

NEW YORK: Gregory McMahon (R); R. T. Ross (R); Robert Nodar Jr. (R); F. R. Coudert (R); D. M. Potts (R); K. P. C. St. George (R); B. W. Kearney (R).

OHIO: R. H. Burke (R); E. O. McCowen (R); H. A. Ramey (R); P. W. Griffiths (R); H. H. Carson (R); E. R. Lewis (R).

OKLAHOMA: G. B. Schwabe (R); A. S. M. Monroney (D); Ross Rizley (R).



LEGEND

★ The stars indicate the districts represented by 104 of the 374 Representatives who voted for passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and who were elected by majorities of less than 10 percent.

The Taft-Hartley Act is the major test chosen by organized labor in judging candidates for 1948. The 10-percent margin suggests those areas in which labor's efforts are most likely to yield returns.

PENNSYLVANIA: James Gallagher (R); R. N. McGarvey (R); F. J. Maloney (R); G. W. Sarbacher (R); H. D. Scott (R); J. P. Scoblick (R); Mitchell Jenkins (R); F. A. Muhlenberg (R); Chester H. Gross (R); W. J. Crow (R); L. E. Graham (R); Harve Tibbott (R); John McDowell (R).

UTAH: W. A. Dawson (R).

WEST VIRGINIA: F. J. Love (R); M. C. Snyder (R); E. G. Rohrbough (R); H. S. Ellis (R).

WISCONSIN: L. H. Smith (R); C. J. Kersten (R); A. E. O'Kanski (R).

WYOMING: F. A. Barrett (R).

EDITORIAL

The NR and the Third Party

THERE ARE NOW two lines of political action on the Left: the third-party movement, and the movement of the trade unions to elect a liberal Congress. The relationship between these movements will determine whether 1948 will be a year of success or bitter failure for American liberalism.

Whatever liberals may have felt about its origins, the movement for a third party is under way. To attack this movement as Communist-inspired is to attack the chronic inability of the non-Communist Left to organize for political action. And to attack it for dividing progressives is to forget that, except for a small minority, Americans are less concerned with problems of organization than with issues. In the coming months, Henry Wallace will be raising profound issues and expressing important truths.

Preoccupation with immediate problems rather than these underlying truths is an old disease in American politics and one reason for the weakness of the Left in America today. If we look beyond 1948, then we must admit that the two major parties are outworn in structure, lacking in ideas and conservative in their final control. These charges, brought against the major parties by Wallace, were brought in the same terms by Eugene Debs, by Robert La Follette and by Norman Thomas. As Wallace points out in this issue, third parties are part of our tradition.

But few third parties have outlived more than one or two campaigns. The underlying reason has been the lack of an adequate social basis.

For 50 years organized labor has been regarded as the only possible basis of a progressive political movement in an industrial society. The present third party is not in accordance with this tradition. Because of its overriding urgency, Wallace has made peace the third party's reason for being. Peace is an issue on which labor has no more than an equal interest with all citizens. In fact, Wallace's program has a greater appeal to the Protestant conscience in the middle class than to the CIO with its strong Catholic element. But if the movement is to be a third party rather than a third ticket, then the lack of a base in organized labor is a weakness.

The trade-union drive for a liberal Congress takes on major significance for the first time this year.

Norman MacKenzie points out in this issue that only

when anti-labor legislation forced the trade unions into political action was the British Labor Party possible. The parallel of the Taft-Hartley Act is obvious.

The Act outlaws the closed shop. This means the possible destruction of all unions whose workers travel from job to job, making organization slow and difficult.

The Act restricts the union shop. By stating that a worker need not join a union until he has been on the job for 30 days, it cuts deeply into the strength of unions in seasonal industries, and will harass all unions in plants where the management is unsympathetic.

Political action is prohibited. If the union contributes to campaign funds it is obviously guilty. But what if its officers are politically active? Are union newspapers forbidden to express any opinion on the political activities of parties or candidates? If they are, could this ban extend to the actions of the President, or of the leaders of Congress?

The administration of the Act can be decisive. A friendly board can permit employers to cooperate; an unfriendly board can call such cooperation "illegal collusion." Unions can be persecuted by forcing upon them in rapid succession a whole series of collective-bargaining elections. Those unions which, for genuine reasons of conscience, have failed to comply with every last provision of the law can be excluded from the ballot in these elections.

The Act is not yet in force for most unions, whose contracts, written before the Act was passed, have not yet expired. But already its terms are being violated. An FBI told to get evidence, a Justice Department told to prosecute, can wreck the unions. What constitutes a violation? Ultimately the courts decide, but the courts are sensitive to political pressures. Acceptance or rejection of the Taft-Hartley Act by the voters in 1948 will influence the courts. So the 1948 election is crucial.

For the unions, repeal of the Act has become a matter of life and death. It bears on Congress, and on the presidency. If a liberal Congress in 1949 passes a new labor law, it will nullify the Taft-Hartley Act, just as this law nullifies parts of the Wagner Act. For this, a simple majority is required. But if there is a friendly Congress and an unfriendly President, he may keep the Taft-Hartley Act in force by vetoing the new law. Then a two-thirds vote will be needed.

These are the reasons why 1948 may be a starting point for genuine and powerful political action by labor.

In such action, the railroad brotherhoods can play an important part. Despite the special legislation that governs them, they are hit by most sections of the Taft-Hartley Act. Their efforts can be significant, since they are strong in some states where there is little other organized labor.

The CIO-PAC has been and can be the most active of all in building precinct organization.

The AFL is working from Samuel Gompers' old rule of rewarding friends and punishing enemies. In the past, this rule meant publishing a slate of endorsements and forgetting it. Now Labor's League for Political Education of the AFL is planning a real campaign. Its National Administrative Committee, which includes representatives of all the international unions, will work through state committees and city committees down to the wards and precincts. For the AFL the League is far more than a get-out-the-vote campaign. "All my life I believed in a non-partisan policy for labor," Dan Tobin told the conference that created the LLPE, "but the non-partisan policy has been something of a farce." He praised the British Labor Party as a model, and the LLPE was instructed to campaign on such issues as "high prices, housing, health, wage-and-hour legislation, growth of corporate control, monopoly taxation, and the like, requiring the attention of the workers of our land."

These organizations may overcome old rivalries and work closely together in 1948. Yet the contrast with the third party is clear. Among these organizations the labor base is assured, but there is no provision for independent support. The legislation because of which this movement has begun is all important to labor, and without much interest to non-labor groups. These groups have found it harder to work with the unions than with the major parties.

The AFL, whose parochialism has been the most extreme, provides in the constitution of the LLPE for "coöperative alliances" with "non-Communist liberal organizations." Some AFL leaders, such as President George A. Haberman of the Wisconsin state federation, are aligning the LLPE with coöperatives, Townsend Clubs and Farmers' Union locals. But the weakness remains.

The third-party drive and the trade-union drive are both part of the progressive movement. It is important that the truths voiced by Wallace should not be obscured, and that labor should end this campaign on a note of triumph.

There is grave danger today that the battle of 1948

will be not internationalism against imperialism or Left against Right, but progressives against themselves. In New York, if the Democratic candidates are forbidden to receive Labor Party endorsement, the urge to run independents will be strong. In Minnesota and California bitter fights for control of the Democratic Party machinery are building up. In Illinois, where a liberal Democrat, Paul Douglas, is running against the Chicago *Tribune's* captive, Senator C. Wayland Brooks, a third-party candidate is likely. In Washington, liberals, if they can gain united support, can win. In all these states, division may lead to defeat.

Within the unions, the CIO-PAC may follow the American Labor Party in dividing, and conflicts may develop between the higher officials and the shop stewards, who will support the third party. If these divisions are minimized, they can be healed. If they deepen, they may continue for years.

Given tolerance and intelligence, this can be a great year.

There is need, first, for recognition that a liberal Congress is of the highest importance.

Second, there is need for agreement on what a liberal candidate is. The trade-union test, of a vote on the Taft-Hartley Act, condemns 374 incumbents, and is a fair criterion of domestic policy. But 104 Senators and Representatives who voted *against* the Taft-Hartley Act voted *for* the Truman Doctrine of aid to Greece and Turkey. If this vote, or favoring the Marshall Plan, is made the test of third-party support, agreement on candidates will be impossible. Wallace has mentioned as a test a possible vote on UMT.

Third, there is need for coöperation in getting the right candidates. The failure of liberals and labor to combine and work for good nominees is probably their worst weakness. Now, in California, liberal Democrats are calling on all progressives to participate in choosing candidates. In this way the number of fights between progressives can be minimized.

Agreement among progressives on the presidential candidacy is unlikely. There is not yet a third party, or a choice between known Republican and Democratic candidates. With Congress in rebellion and Marines departing for Greece, we cannot see how, in early January, an independent's vote can be committed for November 2. In any case, division on the presidential candidacy need not destroy unity elsewhere. A rough rule for today is that action which divides progressives, below the level of the presidential candidacy, should be resisted. If the two lines of action cannot converge in 1948, at least they can run parallel to each other.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

CORRESPONDENCE: Henry Wallace and the Third Party

SIR: . . . By all means print Wallace's weekly articles; most of them are good, some of them have holes in them, but all of them are good for anyone to read and use his head thinking about. But can't you collect your scattered editorial brains and take a firm stand in opposition to Wallace's "fantastic crusade"?

A third party without labor support except from a small fraction of the unions; with only a small splinter of liberal backing; at a time when a Republican administration is almost sure to bring national and world disaster, and there is a *fair* chance of the liberals getting back into power in the Democratic Party . . . it is sheer madness, and it's your business to either find good reasons why it isn't madness and print them or else come out against it. . . .

Therefore I urge you in the strongest terms to talk firmly to Henry, as Frank Kingdon, J. Raymond Walsh, Phil Murray and many others have been doing; and do it in public so that his potential followers will take little heart from your opposition to him if you make clear your grounds and it becomes plain that the reactionary chance of success in '48 is being cut down. . . .

Cos Cob, Conn. ALLEN H. BARTON

★ ★ ★

SIR: If America is to survive as a democracy, she must have a more realistic alignment of political forces. The country today faces a period of acute and far-reaching change—in its economic structure, in its political institutions, in its social outlook, in its relations with other nations. We can surmount the crisis through democratic processes only if the basic forces at work in the world are made clear to the common citizen, the real issues brought into the open and a national plan of operation formulated.

The two major parties in their present form are incapable of performing this function. . . . An intelligent alternative must be available when economic catastrophe or imminent danger of war reveals the bankruptcy of our present course.

Nor is there any present likelihood that the liberals will capture the Democratic Party. . . .

These considerations, with which most liberals would, I think, agree, seem to me to make a clear case for third-party action. The burden of proof then shifts to those who are opposed to that course. As I read the anguished outcries from

the liberals in opposition, there are four major objections.

First of all, there are those who do not agree completely with Henry Wallace's program of peace, jobs and freedom. It is not possible within the space of a letter to argue these issues. I can only reiterate that Henry Wallace has seemed to me one of the few leaders in the country who have grasped the fundamental issues of our time and who have had the courage to express them.

A second objection has been that the formation of a third party will lead to the election of a Republican President, possibly a more reactionary one than otherwise. . . . One . . . cannot ignore the fact that the third-party movement, in prejudicing President Truman's candidacy, runs a certain element of risk.

On the other hand that risk must always be run if a third party is ever to take the field. . . . The risk here does not seem excessive. I think the country, and the world, will hold together for another four years, possibly for eight years, under a Republican administration. The immediate setback is certainly worth taking if meanwhile the sound foundation has been laid for a really liberal political force.

Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that a demonstration of mass support for the Wallace program, plus the election of a liberal Congress through third-party assistance, is likely to accomplish far more in slowing reaction's advance than a sterile and befuddled election within the confines of the issues raised by the present two major parties.

The third objection is that the third-party movement is playing into the hands of the Communists, who are seeking to defeat the Marshall Plan and plunge the country into chaos. Certainly the fact that the Communist Party favors the development of a third party is in itself no argument against it; the issues must be resolved on their merits. . . .

The last objection is that the third-party movement does not have sufficient support, especially from organized labor, and that the job will have to be done all over again after the movement collapses. . . . I think that those who hold back on this ground vastly underrate the significance of the Wallace program and the appeal it has to the great mass of American citizens who follow the Roosevelt tradition.

Nor do I believe that the job will have to be started again. The framework

of the Wallace program seems to me entirely sound. It represents in my judgment the basic approach upon which the liberals must inevitably coalesce. I cannot conceive a dynamic, forward-looking movement growing out of the cautious, nearsighted, often irrational gropings of the liberals who fear to undertake a third party now. The Wallace program presents the broad mass of Americans with a clear-cut alternative and lays the firm basis for a movement that will steadily gather momentum.

THOMAS I. EMERSON

*Yale University School of Law,
New Haven, Conn.*

★ ★ ★

SIR: . . . Referring to the fence-sitting liberal who fears the entry of a third party on the political scene, Mr. Wallace said: "For every fearful one who leaves, there will be a thousand to take his place."

I believe this statement will be derided, but that before long it will be found not only figuratively but also literally true. . . . Franklin Delano Roosevelt [was] loved by the millions but hated by certain gentry who now rail at the name Wallace. . . .

A Roosevelt defeated them by going over their heads to his countrymen. A Wallace can do the same. Let's aim, not for a third party, but for a first. . . .

I hope that a decent minority of the press will support the man and the program. Potentially, the man and program have the backing of the majority of Americans. Let's make this an actuality, in '48.

New York City

M. S. TODD

★ ★ ★

SIR: . . . I can't see much difference between Truman as a Democratic President and a Republican such as Taft as President.

On the other hand if Wallace runs and loses, but polls a large vote, it will show the world that the American nation is not wholeheartedly behind the present policies. . . .

Lombard, Ill.

HENRY D. TEFFT

★ ★ ★

SIR: . . . The third-party candidacy of Mr. Wallace is a deliberate attempt to elect a reactionary government in America in the hope that such election will result in dissatisfaction among the gen-

eral populace. The whole purpose of the campaign is dishonest.

... Insincere individuals and publications in this country, hiding behind the word "liberal," are the most destructive force in the world today. I include the *New Republic* in this category. . . .
New York City ISIDORE JAFFE

★ ★ ★

SIR: This morning, I read the formal announcement in the Portland papers of Mr. Henry Wallace's determination to head a third-party ticket.

The feeling here in this town of 9,000 in eastern Oregon to Mr. Wallace's announcement may best be expressed by several remarks made to me on the street today while coming and going to college classes.

"Thank God, we now have a leader."

La Grande has always been a typical "Main Street" American town. Staid, somewhat sleepy, such political trends which have always been termed radicalism are as alien to this eastern Oregon community as a Negro Senator in the Alabama state legislature.

Therefore, it may interest you to know the results of several "grass-roots" surveys taken here in recent months.

If Wallace's campaign is handled intelligently and with objective force, he will win the women's vote of this community. . . .

He can carry the "first voters" by an overwhelming majority. Over 65 percent of the low-paid white-collar workers are behind him.

A recent poll taken at the Eastern Oregon College of Education among the students reveal Wallace's strength among 750 students as 87 percent. . . . The ex-soldier vote will nearly all be behind Wallace, as well as the teacher vote. Wallace will carry a large slice of the Republican votes which went to elect Senator Wayne Morse.

The general feeling here has been that there must be a major clarification and realignment of American political parties. They, as a rule, do not think of Wallace as being a third-party candidate, but as a candidate representing the leaderless millions in America.

We feel that Wallace can win! . . .

The owner of a widely circulated weekly is favorable to Wallace, although he has not come out as yet. But this paper is now leased, and it is not yet known whether or not we can procure this news medium for Wallace. We fervently hope we will be able to obtain it.

JAMES HAMLIN-HOWARD
La Grande, Ore.

SIR: . . . Wallace's decision to run will weaken Truman's chances of reelection. So what? Under cover of lip-service to the liberalism of his predecessor, he has done as much for reaction as any Republican likely to succeed him. . . .

We risk nothing by the defeat of the man who betrayed Roosevelt, appeasing reaction at every point. If we must have reaction for a while, let it be unadulterated Republican reaction. Two years of that and the people will eagerly vote for a change, either to a new party or to a re-formed Democratic Party dedicated to the principles of liberalism. . . .
Chicago, Ill. IRVING H. FLAMM

★ ★ ★

SIR: There was once a publication in this country styled the *Independent*. It went bankrupt for no other reason than that it did not have the nerve or stamina to be independent. . . .

Dayton, Ohio WM. DEGARIS

★ ★ ★

SIR: I wish to express my satisfaction and pleasure at the *New Republic's* refusal to repudiate Wallace, even though it meant stepping on the toes of certain labor and progressive organizations.

In other times this might sound like faint praise. But today, when so many other allegedly liberal publications are compromising about all the principles they had, it is immeasurably encouraging to see that the NR is not compromising anything. . . .
Providence, R. I. WILLIAM G. LLOYD

★ ★ ★

SIR: . . . I cannot honestly support a magazine which claims to support liberalism and civil rights for all the people, and then at the same time rejects an important figure who is actually fighting to carry through such a program. . . .

It is inconceivable that the stand taken by Mr. Wallace in behalf of peace and security for the world should force his resignation as Editor-in-Chief. I expected your magazine to uphold Mr. Wallace's stand and give him all the support he needs in his coming fight. . . .
Los Angeles, Calif. NINA HAMMER

★ ★ ★

SIR: . . . My own feeling is that the third party is not at all desirable, as it splits the real forces of liberalism within the Democratic Party far more than the far lesser liberal forces within the Republican Party. My own feeling is that a victory for the Republicans will lead to disasters comparable to those of 1929. . . .

LOUIS C. KARPINSKI
Winter Haven, Fla.

SIR: What—oh what—are you doing to the *New Republic*? You're helping to divide the liberals and elect a reactionary Republican to the presidency. You've made me a most sorrowful subscriber.

Rockville Center, N. Y. RUTH PHILIP

★ ★ ★

SIR: . . . I think Mr. Wallace could help this country by standing by the Democratic Party—of which he once was. . . .
New York City NORAH MACLAREN

★ ★ ★

SIR: . . . Is a vote for Truman a vote for the lesser evil? If not, then Wallace is fully justified in asking all true liberals to vote for him, even if that course will put Dewey or Taft in the White House. But many liberals think Wallace's action premature, and that it is still possible and desirable to work for progressive policies and measures within the Democratic Party, despite Truman's patent stupidity and the militarization and Wall-Streetization of the government. . . .

La Jolla, Calif. VICTOR S. YARROS

★ ★ ★

SIR: By all means give voters an opportunity to vote for war or peace; personal contacts reveal more than 60 percent favor a fusion peace platform with Henry Wallace. Truman, Vandenberg, Dewey, Taft and Warren all rejected by large majority.

Los Angeles, Calif. C. J. INMAN

★ ★ ★

SIR: Congratulations to Henry! Now that he has made the plunge that many people have waited for, it is to be hoped that he doesn't waver and withdraw his hat from the ring. The dire verdicts and predictions anent his "chances" may or may not discourage him. Thomas L. Stokes, one of the few commentators in the commercial press worth reading, although sharing the general belief that Wallace will not be elected—points out that the "smug and glib dismissals of the Wallace candidacy by Democratic spokesmen should not be taken too seriously. They are worried." He cites also one of the historical functions of third parties, that of a protest barometer and a subsequent reinvigoration of one of the current major parties. . . .

Cleveland, Ohio RALPH A. MATULE

★ ★ ★

SIR: . . . Every vote for Wallace is a vote for the Taft-Hartley Act. . . . No doubt reactionary forces will finance this third party, for it will serve as a fourth column for them. . . .

Warm Springs, Ark. RECTOR PULLIAM

BOOKS IN REVIEW

A LIBERAL VIEW OF THE SOUTH

BEFORE STARTING in on his exhaustive and interesting study of the South's development as "a cultural province conscious of its destiny," Francis Butler Simkins indulges in some speculation about the American future in his provocative book, *The South: Old and New, a History, 1820-1947*, (Alfred A. Knopf; \$6). Which part of the country, he wonders will eventually prove to have won what he does not hesitate to call the Civil War?

He is not at all sure, but he recalls the verdict of that once respected pundit, Count Hermann Keyserling. In his usual dogmatic and condescending manner, the philosophical Count once proclaimed that, if the United States ever found itself culturally, national leadership would inevitably fall to the South, since it was the Southern gentleman who was responsible for the nation's past greatness. In fact, the Southern gentleman and his feminine counterpart, the Southern lady, are, the Count insisted, "the only types of complete souls that the United States has as yet produced."

Best face forward. As a Southern liberal and a conscientious student, the author of *The South: Old and New* has no such regional chauvinism to advance, but the Keyserling quotation came back to me after I had finished Simkins' analytical history. For, in the light of what his book has to say, the thought of the predominance of prevailing Southern culture in American life is not a comforting one.

Although he is an objective historian, Simkins is also a sympathetic observer of his subject, and he is certainly concerned with putting the best face possible, in keeping with the facts as he sees them, on its traditional and contemporary ideals. Yet he comes to the conclusion that the central theme of the regionalism of the South is white supremacy and its maintenance.

by Richard Watts Jr.

It is "the essence of Southernism," and if it were abolished, the South would be nothing more than another geographical section of the United States.

It would cease to be a point of view and a way of life. And, for all the advance in the social stature of the Negro in recent years, he sees no sign that the Southern determination to maintain white supremacy is decreasing. The South, he believes, is as bent on "keeping the Negro in his place" as it ever was, and as willing to use force to do so. Furthermore, just as in the Reconstruction days, when the South finally persuaded the North to drop the plans of the Republican radicals to give the Negro equality and accept its point of view about black inferiority, it is once more likely to win the battle to have its reactionary racial ideas retained throughout the country.

The South's tragedy. There is one other gloomy conception of current "Southernism" that the author brings forward. In the South, he says, revolts of the common man and determined popular efforts to find radical solutions to the problems of poverty and exploitation are invariably also anti-Negro. Simkins once wrote a study of "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, the South Carolina demagogue, and he is a student of the activities of James K. Vardaman, Cole L. Blease and such later counterparts of theirs as Talmadge, Bilbo and Rankin. His knowledge makes him especially disconcerting when he points out how every widespread effort of the Southern poor to improve their lot has degenerated into an assault on the Negro, whose lot is the poorest of all.

Although Simkins is a liberal who looks with disapproval on the treatment of the Negro, he has no more escaped the marks of the traditions of white supremacy than did the group

of Southern intellectuals who recently denounced the idea of doing away with racial segregation in education. His account of slavery, Civil War and Reconstruction is generally fair, and yet his background is always clearly visible. He may hate slavery, but he is none the less biting when he talks about "the tactlessness and arrogance" of the abolitionists. He denounces their "self-righteousness," calls them "agitators" and "fanatics," and finds justification for the South's indignation over the North's refusal to enforce the laws for the return of fugitive slaves.

Hard words on Lincoln. He has some hard words to say about Abraham Lincoln. He talks of his "subtly approaching the diabolical," scornfully refers to him as a "righteous prophet," and says that his policy was one of blood and iron, rather than "charity toward all." He declares that Lincoln provoked the Civil War by his devious conduct about Fort Sumter and scolds him for not confessing his part in doing so "with the cynical honesty of a Bismarck."

In addition, try as he will, Simkins has trouble in being fair to the Negro. Despite reference to the "kinder side of slavery," he makes no attempt to deny the ignorance, degradation and contempt imposed by servitude, and he seems almost surprised and pained that, after generations of such mass humiliation, the Negro did not emerge from it without any of its evil marks upon him. It is a little strange, incidentally, to find him so casually passing over the contributions to science made by George Washington Carver as he attempts to show the progress made by Negroes since slavery.

On the other hand, in the light of growing attempts to insist that even without the Civil War the South would eventually have done away with slav-

ery, it is refreshing to find the author admitting that there is no real evidence for any such thing. The South had come to defend and praise it as an institution, rather than merely to apologize for it. It is interesting, too, to find him reporting that the motives of the Northern radicals during Reconstruction days were not just those of vengeance for its own sake, but were based on efforts, even if clumsy ones, to bring to the land of secession "progressive concepts of social morality."

Simkins is also to be highly commended for his accomplishment in showing that the romantic myths of the Old South were, to put it mildly, somewhat exaggerated. In his contemplation of the South's contribution to literature, the claims made are both interesting and modest. When discussing Mark Twain, however, he sees only a figure of comedy in the Negro Jim of *Huckleberry Finn*, one of the few genuinely heroic characters of American fiction.

VOICE OF TEMPTATION

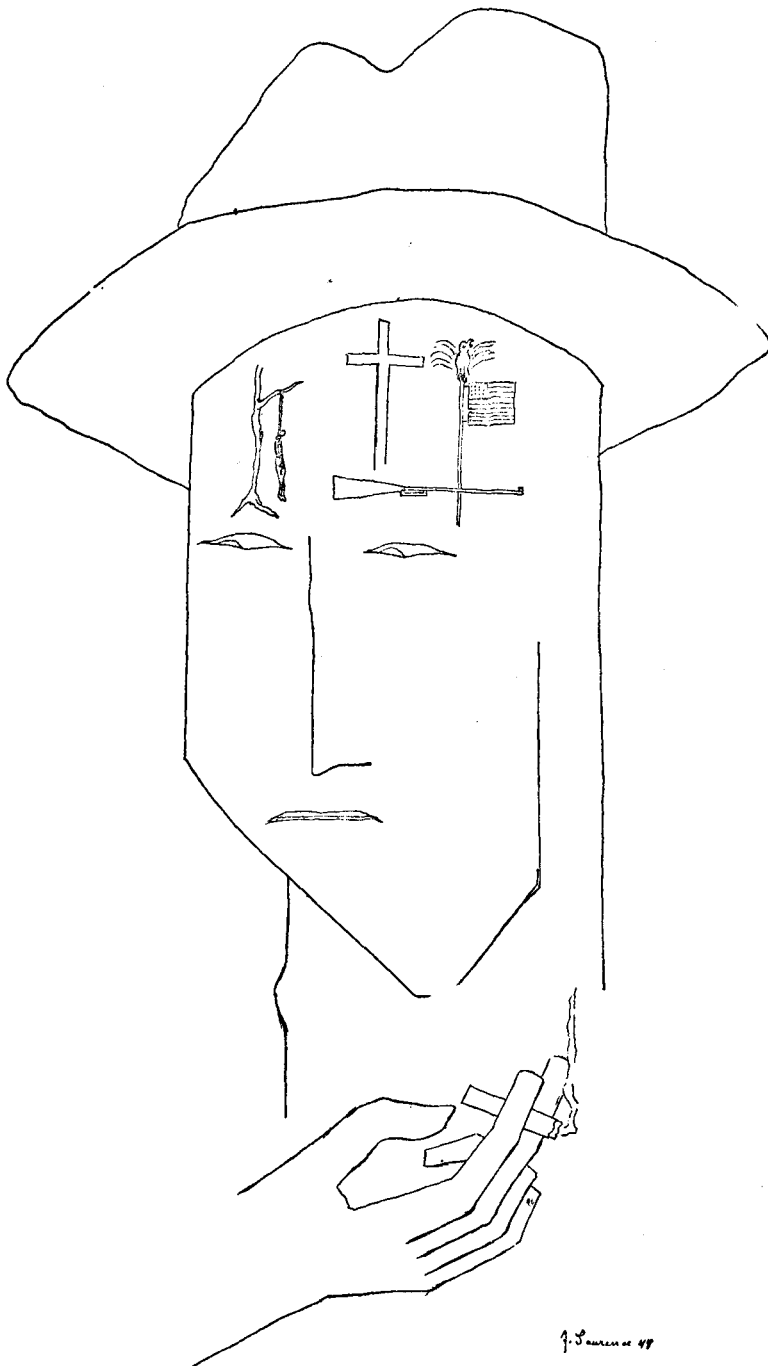
THE QUESTION OF GERMAN GUILT, by Karl Jaspers. Translated by E. B. Ashton (Dial; \$2).

SOME TIME AGO a literary critic and writer talked to me about a meeting in Geneva. He told me how a German named Jaspers had made a speech there that seemed profound and promising. He felt that in this speech there was hope for an intellectual renaissance in the heart of Europe. It was, he said, the voice of the new Germany. But, having read Karl Jaspers for many years and having known his pupils and associates, I knew this literary critic was mistaken. What he had heard was not the voice of Germany, but the voice of temptation.

Jaspers was originally a psychiatrist of the first rank. His *General Psychopathology*, first published in 1913 and in a fourth edition in 1946, was one of the outstanding textbooks of its time. Into psychiatry, which had become more and more formalistic, he attempted to introduce the approach of phenomenology (the use of the orderly introspection of subjective experiences). Systematically anti-Freudian—at that time a reactionary attitude—his book was one of the last flowerings of non-Freudian psychiatry. He then engaged in studies of the psychopathology of artists and writers, in one of which he made a wrong diagnostic evaluation of van Gogh (as we know from later research carried out by French psychiatrists). Finally he became professor of Philosophy at Heidelberg.

The Question of German Guilt is written on a high plane. So high, indeed, that everything that people have done, are doing and should do seems out of sight. All that people seem to do is think—think in abstractions, lifeless categories and irresponsible classifications of responsibility.

Four quartets. Jaspers distinguishes four varieties of guilt: criminal, political, moral and metaphysical, giving them all high-sounding nonsense definitions. One can readily imagine an SS man saying: "Make mine metaphysi-



JACOB LAWRENCE, THE DOWNTOWN GALLERY

cal," because guilt of this kind evidently cannot be proved except by a "feeling." That conscience is not merely metaphysical and that a man named Freud has done some research on the subject of guilt feelings does not seem to have occurred to him. The reason he makes these distinctions becomes obvious when he says later that they all "lead us back" to something "which cannot be flatly referred to as our guilt." So we start all over again. We are given the more than dubious definition that "the meaning of power" is "the achievement of what is right." And so the highfalutin obfuscation goes on.

But the confusion is not without method. Jaspers holds that when criticism of the government is forbidden, the search for truth can go on unhampered. By that logic it could go on unhampered under any fascist regime which forbids "the license" to criticize the authorities. If Jaspers' words mean anything (they don't always), everyone is at the same time good and bad and no one is really responsible for anything. In one place he seems to say that the people in Germany all think alike, in another that they all think very differently. The only political groups that seem to exist for him are "the believing National-Socialist" and "the nationalist." It goes without saying that wherever there is a chance, he skillfully plays up the differences between the East and the West, even if he has to call upon Herodotus and the Persians to do so.

Souls and people. Although the translation is not good and not idiomatic, you feel that this philosopher is unable to get away from Nazi terminology. Again and again he refers to "the German soul," which, of course, is guided by "the call of our ancestors." This "soul" serves well in any emergency, even in the academic lectures (on which this book is based) at the university of which Dr. Goebbels was such a distinguished and by no means unique alumnus. One can hide in this "soul," one can retreat into it, one can cleanse it without having to face reality (which is not always as

spiritual as Jaspers has it, but sometimes is political or even economic).

Jaspers leads readers to the conclusion that nobody really has a right to judge, that one has to submit to the victor and that responsibility is a purely inner experience. The "condemnation" of Germans for the concentration-camp atrocities, he feels, is "impure in its motives." It is interesting that an author who is presented to us as an outstanding anti-Nazi leader can write this sentence: "For moments this proximity enables me to feel almost like a Jew." All of this fits in with Nazi thinking. It seems to be the tragedy of "the German soul" that it has so little knowledge of the real history of the German people.

Escape and evasion. *The Question of German Guilt* contains no genuine sympathy or regret for those who suffered, no demand for insight into social and historical causes, no insistence on concrete changes and proof of changes, no sense of responsibility for the future. The innocent reader may fail to realize this, tempted by the flood of high-sounding morals and metaphysics. The truth is simple. The German people are responsible. We can make it clear to them only if we make clear to ourselves first, that we as progressives who have failed so often and have now again let ourselves be put on the defensive, share their guilt.

FREDERIC WERTHAM

MR. TILLEY OUT OF TOWN

OUR OWN BAEDER from the *New Yorker*, by Russell Maloney and Eugene Kinkead. With maps and illustrations by Carl Rose (Simon and Schuster; \$3.75).

ADMIRERS of the sprightly and informative little items on various locales, which have appeared from time to time under the "Baedeker" heading in the *New Yorker's* Talk of the Town, should be even more impressed by reading the same pieces *en masse*—especially as, in this collection, they are enhanced by a generous sprinkling of Carl Rose's inspired maps and illustrations. These couldn't be better.

The 72 articles on significant spots, ranging roughly from the Azores to the USSR, are as entertaining on second reading as they were the first time, and factual enough to serve as useful, if slightly specialized references. The authors, or their researchers, have uncovered remarkable facts about comparatively well known European countries, and have also dug up material on the tribal customs of some of the remote Pacific outposts where our troops landed; and they are all presented with the same, unfailing aplomb.

The wrapping-up of the statistical, the historical and the unusual into neatly turned, humorous pieces is consistently successful—which makes it almost impossible to single out any specific section for special comment. This is an ideal book to pick up and enjoy in off-moments, but it also stands up amazingly well to a non-stop reading from beginning to end. In fact, text and pictures alike make it difficult to put down.

ANNE L. GOODMAN

THE NEW YORKER BOOK OF WAR PIECES (Reynal and Hitchcock; \$5).

FROM the confusion of events and blurring of emotions stirred up in many lands and many languages by World War II, the *New Yorker* managed with most success among the general periodicals to strike to the essential simplicity and unity which are the warp and woof of truth.

Its reporters and editors chose to focus on people and events, observed at first hand, and filter their words through the intelligent sensitivity of the best of this publication's writers. The grand sweep of armies is left to the official communiqués, the news magazines and the radio commentators. Pearl Harbor isn't included (presumably nobody of *New Yorker* caliber was there), and almost the whole of the Russian part of the war is left out, for what must be the same reason.

D-Day at Normandy becomes the story of the men aboard a Coast Guard LCIL. Hiroshima is the tale of a young girl with a crippled and festered leg worrying whether she will ever again



be attractive to a potential husband. When Dr. Fujii hides in the river to escape the fire, the description has the simple power to push the reader's mind back to Los Alamos. There, for all their cleverness with equations, the scientists hugged the earth, man-fashion, when they exploded the first bomb in the New Mexico desert.

The *New Yorker* collection covers the war from the rise of the barrage balloons over London in 1939 to John Hersey's account of atom-bombed Hiroshima. A few of the pieces seem a little too polished and contrived, but when bound together in 152 pages, the *New Yorker* war-reporting job adds up as the most detached, least phony and truest account that the war produced.

Occasionally, when the writer becomes so immersed in his actions and emotions that in the telling of them he cannot escape their power over his pencil, a piece will rise to the level of true art. One such is that by Walter Bernstein, written in Italy in September, 1944: the simple story of a soldier trying to catch up with his outfit, who crosses a valley and crawls and climbs a hill. After a breather, he scrambles up the last few feet over the next hill, where the enemy is crawling and climbing.

"It looks familiar," he remarks. That will be the reaction of many a foot slogger, jungle-rot scratcher or ex-

air-raid warden remembering bleary-eyed mornings, when he reads through this volume. NORMAN GRIESER

WORTH REPRINTING

THE STATE of contemporary writing in Britain is not as drab as Denys Val Baker would suggest. In *Modern British Writing* (Vanguard; \$3.50), he has chosen poems, stories and essays from the little magazines to form "a selection of the best of nearly a decade." An anthology, unless it pretends to a stricter purpose than the present one, is chiefly valuable for the pleasure and convenience of possessing a number of good things within a single volume.

Perhaps the mediocrity of the present volume (though it contains good things) reflects an uneasy editorial intention to be *representative* of something, but a collection representative of British Writing during the past 10 years wouldn't omit one of Elizabeth Bowen's war stories, for example. In addition, writers are best represented by their best work, but anyone familiar with them could choose happier examples of the recent work of Anna Kavan, V. S. Pritchett, George Barker or Rhys Davies, to name but a few.

Many of the essays have been chosen for their topical interest. Accounts of contemporary Scots and Irish writing,

interesting in themselves, explain and relate to other selections in the volume. Noteworthy is E. Glyn Lewis' essay on "Anglo-Welsh Literature," treated "as an organic body" and demonstrating "the importance and vitality of this tradition in English literature." Patricia Johnson's essay has the praiseworthy aim of introducing several of "the younger British woman writers," but the unfamiliarity of the texts is a handicap to any serious analysis, and she is reduced to the mere summary and evaluation of a book review. More successful is D. S. Savage's analysis of Auden, Spender and MacNeice as "social poets," whose "disintegration" "seems to show the general inadequacy of a poetic orientation which is founded on a primarily social view of reality, a view, that is to say, whose perspectives are limited to those of social existence," in which, he contends, "absolutes are abolished" and "everything has a *social* reference—even the individual life itself."

Survival. It is "an interesting comment on these charges when Spender writes that in the present "world of necessity" "what is important for art is that almost every view of life has today social implications," so that, he somewhat didactically explains, "the attempt today to be a pure artist who has renounced his political connections with society . . . is simply a failure to be conscious of the artist's position in the modern world."

This political theme recurs throughout the book—not the partisan politics of the 1930's, but the politics of survival and reconstruction in an age of "continual crisis." George Orwell, characteristically particular, analyzes the relation of our contemporary speech to politics, along lines initiated by I. A. Richards. He points out that while language is "an instrument for expressing and not for concealing or preventing thought," "political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible," and suggests, as extreme examples, that the spoken idiom has degenerated in Russia, Italy and Germany under repressive dictatorship.

The experience of the war, while at

least indirectly present in most of these writings, introduces the note of the argumentative, the officious or the exacerbated. V. S. Pritchett offers as an explanation that writers for the most part "have not had time to feel the human tragedy of the war"; they have "been numbed and can only moralize."

JOHN FARRELLY

Crime and Punishment

Armchair in Hell, by Henry Kane (Simon and Schuster; \$2). Peter Chambers, the private eye whose clientele comes largely from New York's underworld, finds himself up to his ears in the affairs of big-time gambler Viggy O'Shea. Not only is the presence of three dead bodies in his house embarrassing to O'Shea, but the priceless French tapestries he has just acquired are missing. Chambers' researches turn up some extraordinarily unsavory characters and produce prose so hard-bitten it sometimes sounds like a parody. The fastest, toughest job in years.

Minute for Murder, by Nicholas Blake (Harper; \$2.50). Though V-E Day has been celebrated, Nigel Strange-ways is still working for the British Ministry of Morale. And a good thing, too, for the services of the famous sleuth are instrumental in solving the poison-capsule murder of his boss's secretary, the lovely and disturbing Nita Prince. A highly literate job, with detection taking a back seat to an assortment of "public servants" and their departmental wranglings.

Murder Miscellany.—Two reliable performers, H. C. Branson (*Last Year's Blood*; Simon and Schuster, \$2) and Clifford Knight (*The Affair of the Sixth Button*; McKay, \$2), come up with interesting characters and well worked out plots in their most recent stories. In second novels, Dorothy Park Clark (*Poison Speaks Softly*; Crime Club, \$2) and James M. Fox (*Death Commits Bigamy*; Coward-McCann, \$2.50) show a perceptible advance in two lively and readable jobs. Miss Clark's Kentucky locale, in particular, is a welcome change from the usual New York or California scene.

E. H.

BUSINESS: The Solid Front Cracks

THOSE who have been telling us that profits aren't big enough to warrant price cuts are bathing their bruises these days. Charles E. Wilson of General Electric, speaking with the most eloquent words he commands—dollars and cents—has said that his company could stand a price cut of up to 10 percent on most of its consumer goods.

GE's decision must bring some wry smiles to the face of economist Robert Nathan, who, just over a year ago, prepared for the CIO an economic analysis saying that industrial profit rates were such that a substantial wage increase could be granted without raising prices. When a 15-cent increase was won by GE workers, the company led industry in raising prices. It had to, it protested in full-page ads. Now that the evidence is in, it seems GE didn't need a price rise. Its 1947 annual report is expected to show a profit of more than \$70 million, the highest ever. From a public-relations point of view, it was a good idea to do some price cutting before these fabulous figures were reported.

The law rejected. It was not competition—or the law of supply and demand—that made GE take this step. It wasn't even the profit motive in any short-run sense. On many of their products they could have made more money next year had they kept prices up. Wilson, who can talk a fluent free-private-enterprise-supply-and-competition line when he is on an NAM program, took great pains to point out that the supply of many items is still lagging behind orders. He claimed, too—and this is almost impossible to check because of the quality factor—that GE prices already compared favorably with competitive products. So they did not have to do this because of any law of man or nature. This was what we call an administered price cut, with the GE high command making a high-level, long-range-strategy decision. The GE statement is a clear

repudiation of the NAM supply-demand-competition theory of price.

What will be the effect of the GE move? Ford and International Harvester both made price-cutting gestures last year, and both have backtracked since. GE reports that its materials supply and labor productivity are so much improved that the price cuts actually represent lower cost of production. So there will be no occasion to raise prices again to sustain profits. In that sense, this is the first major break in the inflationary price spiral. But GE made it clear that if GE workers ask for a wage increase the price cut may be nullified.

Therefore, whatever the motive of the GE announcement, it puts the squeeze on the workers in the GE plant, militant UE members who have agitated for lower prices. But their cost of living is going up day by day. They don't eat fractional horsepower motors or electric blankets. So the pressure for a wage adjustment will increase unless the GE largesse spreads to prices that affect the cost-of-living index.

Spots to watch. The Wilson gesture puts it directly up to the people who use parts on which GE has cut prices. Watch the fluorescent-lighting fixtures or electric-mixer manufacturer in the next weeks. If he drops his prices, then Wilson's action has taken hold and others may follow. Then watch the anonymous textile-mill owners, the cattle feeders and the big steel manufacturers. If they drop their prices now—and it will be the first time in history that such orderly price reductions have taken place—they will siphon off the pressure behind the cost-of-living wage increase that unions are about to demand. They will let the economy down gradually from its dangerous inflationary peak and undercut the growing public clamor for controls. It's the chance that industry has been asking for. HAROLD WOLFF

LABOR: How Sharp Are the Teeth?

FRED HARTLEY, New Jersey Republican who says he will not run for Congress again this year, now wants to abolish all industrywide bargaining. A reasonable sense of caution might persuade the chairman of the House Labor Subcommittee that Senator Joseph H. Ball (R, Minn.) is wiser when he suggests that changes in the Taft-Hartley Act be delayed.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has now officially noted that major tests of the Taft-Hartley Act will come during the next six months. Up to the present, the sharp teeth of the law have barely been tried. Hartley, even though not a candidate for reelection, presumably has an interest in Republican Party success, and for him to press his union-hampering program might give President Truman a further chance to solidify labor support by vetoing new anti-labor legislation.

Testing ground. A number of facts support the viewpoint that the first six months of this year, rather than the preliminary maneuvering of 1947, will show what the Taft-Hartley Act means in practice.

¶ A National Labor Relations Board trial examiner has given the first NLRB intermediate decision holding a union guilty of unfair labor practices through a secondary boycott. The decision, running against the AFL Carpenters' Union, nevertheless held that union picketing of a non-union store was not illegal. The intermediate report must be tested through both the NLRB in Washington and the federal courts. A final decision is most unlikely before June.

¶ The non-Communist-affidavit sections of the T-H Act are scheduled for a District of Columbia federal-court hearing on February 2. Joseph Curran and the CIO National Maritime Union have attacked the sections as unconstitutional. An appeal from the district court can be taken directly

to the Supreme Court, but again a decision before June is unlikely.

In the meantime, employers and unions are locked in combat over whether employers can push the non-Communist-affidavit sections further than the law requires by refusing to deal with "non-complying" unions.

At the time of this writing, a local of the CIO United Public Workers of America is picketing government buildings because a non-profit corporation called Government Services, Inc., which operates cafeterias in federal buildings in Washington, has refused to deal with the "non-complying" UPWA. The union cannot appeal to the NLRB, and the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service has washed its hands of the dispute. With considerable self-righteousness, the GSI claims it doubts the validity of the union's claim to represent the employees—but it is unwilling to have an election conducted under neutral auspices.

This is a small dispute, but it involves issues which may become overwhelmingly important when major "non-complying" unions like the CIO United Steelworkers and United Electrical Workers begin negotiations with such huge corporations as US Steel, Bethlehem, General Electric and Westinghouse.

¶ The major contracts of "complying" unions, including the CIO United Automobile Workers, will be opened probably next month for "third-round" wage-increase demands. There is no assurance that corporations will grant these demands—as they granted "second-round" increases last year—without pushing their workers to strike, and no indication of how a big national strike could be conducted under the T-H Act.

¶ The first drastic union-picket-line challenge to employers, arising directly from the T-H Act, is still unsettled. This is the printers' strike in Chicago, in which the union is represented by

the former NLRB general counsel, Gerhard P. van Arkel. Chicago has become the obvious testing ground of almost total warfare between the union and the National Association of Newspaper Publishers.

I have previously expressed the opinion that the Chicago publishers would win the NLRB case, because the union is seeking to avoid a signed contract that would deny the members a T-H-forbidden closed shop. However, the union apparently is willing to sign a contract according to the so-called San Antonio formula—a contract giving either party the right to terminate the agreement for any cause on 60 days' notice. The battle in Chicago has become not only an NLRB case in which precedents will be set, but also a test of the resiliency of established and respectable unions in forcing satisfactory agreements regardless of legal technicalities.

It is a rash congressman who, when he has no idea how the 1947 law will work, insists on rushing into still more drastic legislative enactments.

Record in 1947. Last year was one of the worst on record in regard to the potential working time lost in strikes, but still only about one-third as bad as 1946.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics totted up about 3,600 "work stoppages" involving 2.2 million workers who lost 35 million man-days in labor disputes. This is the third highest total in history. However, in 1946 more than twice as many workers were involved in "work stoppages" and their lost time totaled 116 million man-days.

Approximately half the man-days lost in 1947 came in three big strikes—the independent telephone workers' walkout, the East Coast CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers' strike, the then AFL United Mineworkers' strike. None of these walkouts would have been prevented—though the telephone and miners' strikes might have been delayed 80 days each—if the T-H Act had been in full effect. The shipyard strike, indeed, took place after the law became effective. WILLARD SHELTON

FOREIGN PRESS: Fears in France

A FRENCHMAN discussing politics, whether in a sidewalk café or in his newspapers, is inclined to become excited and, for the duration of the argument at least, his own point of view is unshakable and opposition arguments mere childish poppycock.

This always impatient but never intolerant civic passion, an ingratiating characteristic of French newspaper polemics of old, is slowly giving way to a new and martial note almost Teutonic in its doctrinaire self-righteousness. It is the

UNE SEMAINE

result, probably inevitable, of the widening rift between Europe's Left and Right, particularly noticeable in the foreign press since the advent of the Marshall Plan polarized economic as well as political convictions.

There is, however, still one issue in France on which men and women of all political opinions are so closely agreed that it is hardly exaggerating to say that on this issue there is such a thing as a French, rather than a Right-French or a Left-French, point of view. The issue is Germany.

Three German invasions of France in one lifetime have created a deep-rooted and ever present fear of a predatory neighbor that colors French political thinking to an extent not often realized by the statesmen and the peoples of other nations. It is indicative of this neurotic state that in Christmas week, when the press of our own and most other countries was heavy with holiday spirit and shopping ads, the conservative and thoughtful Paris weekly, *Une Semaine dans le Monde*, came out with its entire issue devoted to the German problem.

A front-page box gives the keynote: "... After the failure of the London conference ... and on the eve of decisions that threaten to assure the splitting of Europe, we think it useful to summarize an international situation which too many conferences, concealing decisive operations behind the

smoke screen of propaganda, have served only to obscure. ... Germany ... at first prostrate in defeat ... is gradually regaining national consciousness and becoming a power to be reckoned with. ... Her restoration is already a fact. ... The French have good cause for alarm and no right to ignore it. ..."

French alarm and French shrewd political realism are both abundantly evident in a symposium of articles whose subject matter ranges from an analysis of the economic effects of the Marshall Plan, to the sports section's almost gloating tabulation of the outstanding German athletes and world champions killed or missing in action.

The optimistic title of the lead article, "Peace in 1950," may have been a concession to the season, since the thoughts expressed by author Jean Machard are certainly not conducive to hopes for peace. His thesis is that the conflicts which developed between East and West at war's end "were contained in the Potsdam Agreement as surely as a storm is contained in a cloud." To prove his point, Machard proceeds to analyze the basic differences inherent in the divergent political and social philosophies of East and West which made the three key words of Potsdam—demilitarization, democratization and denazification—concepts with a different and often contradictory meaning to Germany's conquerors.

To cite but one example of Machard's reasoning: denazification in the western zones "means setting up tribunals, establishing categories of guilt and cleansing the machinery of power according to criteria of individual responsibility. But in the East denazification means the smashing of a collective force—agrarian and industrial capitalism—which is held responsible for the war. And as long as this concept does not prevail in the western zones, so far as Moscow is concerned, nazism

continues to survive in western Germany."

Machard's apprehension of a Western anti-Russian policy that leads to the reconstruction of Germany is only shakily balanced by his hope that international control of the Ruhr and judicious apportioning of American aid to Europe may prevent the re-emergence of Germany as a menace to peace. He warns: "Fighting against the realism of the East, which sweeps masses along like an immense wave, calls for resources other than those of classic Machiavellism, whose subtleties are invariably smashed by any adversary standing beyond good and evil."

ERP. The Marshall Plan gets the same sort of objective treatment, but it is a transparent and strictly factual objectivity covering the resentment of a nation that feels itself to be cornered.

The article, leading the Economics Section, develops the situation as follows:

¶ The original Marshall Plan called on all nations to join a European-reconstruction program. That included Germany.

¶ German economic development is circumscribed by international statute, yet Germany is called upon to pay reparations which make the expansion of her economy imperative.

¶ If Germany is to support herself and aid in over-all European reconstruction, it is absurd to seize her industrial equipment in lieu of reparations, since this would only cause Germany to rid herself of obsolete equipment and then become eligible to new machinery under the Marshall Plan.

¶ When Molotov withdrew from the Marshall Plan in Paris, he said that "it wrecked the very foundation of the Potsdam Agreement." It does. German reconstruction and Potsdam-prescribed punitive measures are diametrically opposed concepts.

¶ On July 6, the Paris conference proposed that all decisions affecting Germany be made to conform to such four-power agreements as had already been reached, but on the same day in Germany a strictly bilateral revision,

drastically upward, of the German level-of-industry plan was proposed for Bizonia, over the vehement protests of France and during the absence of Russia.

¶ This bilateral level-of-industry plan was then used as a basis to estimate European-reconstruction potentials at the Paris conference, thereby incorporating the abrogation of a four-power commitment into the Marshall Plan.

¶ While the London meeting was ostensibly concerned with the unification of Germany, her economic split was predetermined by the Marshall Plan, which envisages only the western German zones as participating in an international exchange of merchandise and capital.

¶ Because France is dollar-famished, she has to accede to this political situation, in which she is no longer master of her own security. The article concludes on the squeaky, insecure note of optimism that perhaps it is all right, after all, "to make deals with a well provided supplier and to help create wealthy buyers. . . ."

Sovereignty. Why France chose not to fuse her German zone with Anglo-American Bizonia—an event freely forecast by political writers ever since the Moscow conference in March, 1947—may seem of only passing interest to us, but to the French it means holding on to a vestige of political sovereignty. *Une Semaine's* editorial indicates clearly that France has no intention of automatically underwriting any compromises that may be involved in her pro-Western orientation.

The editorial, though essentially negative, implies that there are conditions under which France might consider merging her zone: that German industry be revived after, and not before, the industries of her neighbors; and that German industrial reconstruction be closely supervised by the four occupying powers.

It is part of the same persistent, insistent and all-pervading French political tom-tom beat of fear.

EVA PUTNAM

THEATER: The Wandering Conscience

BY THE TIME you read this, the Experimental Theatre's production of "Skipper Next to God" may be running in the normal commercial manner on Broadway, and another of the institution's functions will be filled.

"Skipper Next to God," by the Dutch playwright, Jan De Hartog, who was represented earlier by an unfortunate melange called "This Time Tomorrow," is well worth all the talent and labor that have gone into making it a success. Built around one of the most significant and moving symbols of our tortured age—stateless, homeless, unwanted refugees from religious slaughter adrift on the oceans of the world's callousness—it demonstrates the power that a grand theme has to carry us safely past clumsiness and error in the playwright's work.

Flesh and spirit. De Hartog has been shrewd and theatrically sound in his choice of a central character. Rather than telling his story about the refugees themselves, whose sufferings are so familiar to us and so excessively tragic and grotesque that putting them in stage terms might be an almost impossible task, the author has linked the play to the battle between Christian conscience and practical counsel in the mind of a Dutch skipper whose ship is carrying 146 Jews, at \$94 a head, to the haven constantly denied them.

The skipper, explosively outlined by John Garfield, is a man who feels that his soul was saved by his religion, and who cannot deviate from the path of Christ even though all the powers of the world stand in his way. Captain Joris Kuiper accepts the mutiny of his crew, the despair of his old friend and mentor, the withdrawal of his government's protection, the anger of his own church, the destruction of his faith in his father's holy memory, and, finally, the loss of his ship and his own freedom. It is well conceived and passionate martyrdom, but it is better in outline than in detail. The skipper is

fanatically religious. We know that and believe it, but we know almost nothing else about the man. Everything else about him is so barely sketched that he remains merely the personification of a noble emotion.

In his performance, which is on fire with a blistering vitality, Garfield does not leap the gap which the playwright has left at his feet. Garfield is somewhat miscast; his roots are too much in the earth; it is difficult for him to convince us that he is listening to a voice from another world. But, despite that, he has the wonderful quality of being always theatrically interesting and exciting, giving his scenes a rushing movement which may be wrong, but which sweeps us along with him.

A cast to remember. The director, Lee Strasberg, has given us a series of fine performances from the other actors. Working with great understanding and assurance after a rather messy and rambling first scene, in which he permitted Joseph Anthony, playing the ship's doctor, to bumble around the stage, Strasberg has handled the large cast with a fastidious crispness and variety. In the second act especially are memorable performances by Richard Coogan, Eugene Stuckmann and Harry Irvine, representing the official powers of society in rational argument with individual belief. And, later, Anthony redeems himself handsomely in an extremely well written passage in which hysteria and compassion are forcefully blended.

John Shellie brings an authentic breath of the engine room as the old mate whose first and only loyalty is to the ship, and Robert White is youthfully touching as the messroom boy who feels that God is repaying him for his adolescent sins. Jabez Gray shines through a rather cloudy part as an actor of strength and humor.

It is to be regretted that the author deserted the high plane of incisive intellectual examination he reached

in the second act and fell back into a welter of violence and emotionalism at the conclusion of the play. The theater is a strange place, in which quiet, cold reasonableness often shakes us to our foundations and a scene of whirling action leaves us remote and unmoved.

Boris Aronson, one of the best designers in the theater today, has contributed an original and useful set,

thriftily blending interior and exterior elements with courage and conspicuous success, and playing his usual lively and interesting tricks with the ordinary laws of perspective.

It is pleasant to report that the Experimental Theatre, with its first two productions this year, "Galileo" and "Skipper Next to God," has moved into the front ranks of the supporters of good theater today. IRWIN SHAW

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MUSIC

Husband and Wife

A YEAR after Ferruccio Tagliavini's Met debut, his wife, Pia Tassinari, made her first appearance there, singing Floria Tosca opposite his Mario. Her success did not equal his. After quite a few years of singing in Italian opera houses she seems to have finished off her top voice for good and all. First-night nervousness could hardly have made so experienced an artist unable to do anything but shriek above G. In the comfortable part of her voice she relied on stock-in-trade emotionalism with relatively little variety of tonal color or rhythmic impact.

Records: Mozart and Bach. Two English recordings of works involving unusual instrumental combinations deserve a place in every well stocked Mozart library. The seraphic Quintet for Clarinet and Strings (Reginald Kell and the Philharmonia String Quartet; Columbia MM-702; \$5.85, including tax) could scarcely be performed with a more perfectly balanced interplay between the strings and their woodwind guest, and you will never encounter a finer clarinetist or a more perceptive musician than Kell.

Dennis Brain's account of the solo part in the E-flat Horn Concerto, Köchel No. 495 (with the Halle Orchestra; Columbia MX-285; \$3.35, including tax), is equally musical, and the recalcitrant instrument behaves well.

Andres Segovia has transcribed the Bach Chaconne for guitar (Musicraft 85; \$2.85), arguing that the difficulties fiddlers have with it obscure some of its beauty. Some of the chord passages are easier on the guitar, it is true, but the music loses by being robbed of the sustained tone a bow can produce.

A choice single record is "Sheep May Safely Graze" (Hargail MW-104), presented with the resources for which Bach wrote it by Katharine Harris, soprano, accompanied by two recorders, a harpsichord and a viola da gamba.

CECIL SMITH

FARM: Social Security Ahead

NOT LONG AGO Henry Davis, Alabama sharecropper, wrote to Washington trying to find out why he wasn't covered by social security. "... He [the employer] don't take my social-security number nor take any tax out. . . ." he wrote. Henry had worked in war plants during the war and now that he was farming and working out by the day part of the time he still expected social-security benefits for himself and his family.

This kind of thinking is going on in the minds of many farm workers who got a taste of social security during the war. A great many other people, including congressmen and government officials, see no good reason why farmers and farm workers should continue to be excluded.

During the closing days of the first session of this Congress, a resolution (S. 141) was passed authorizing the Senate Finance Committee to set up a committee to make a complete investigation of social security "for the purpose of assisting the Senate in dealing with legislation." The main reason for making an investigation at this particular time is to extend social security to farmers and farm workers.

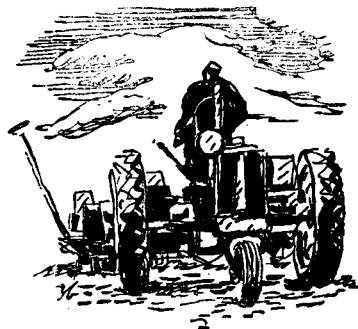
The bandwagon. The appointment of a Senate Advisory Council for Social Security, which has met twice thus far, is part of the effort of Republican leaders to convince the people that they as well as the Democrats are interested in social security.

The Democrats have also been beating the drums for farmer-social-security legislation and can hardly afford to vote against such legislation even when sponsored by the Republicans. In a recent release, the Democratic National Committee called attention to a study made by the Treasury Department, an agency of the "Truman Administration," which proves that 17 million additional people, including millions of farmers, can be put under social security if "the Republican Con-

gress will pass the enabling legislation."

Exclusion. The Treasury report answers effectively arguments against social security for farmers. In the early days it was claimed that a farmer-social-security program would be impossible to administer. Although the Social Security Board has recommended for many years that farm workers be covered, many looked askance at such proposals and claimed that the board's proposals were attempts further to regiment the American people. In the thirties, as you may recall, there was considerable resistance to social security for anybody, and in particular to the idea of extending it to the farmer. A drive by the big farmers in the late thirties resulted in the Social Security Act being amended in 1939 to exclude from social security those who worked in plants that processed farm products.

Pocketbook reformers. But during the war a singular change took place in the minds of big farmers who previously had screamed regimentation and bureaucracy every time social security was mentioned. They began to talk about the importance of a stable labor supply because they noticed that workers were more steady under social security. And they also noticed that their tax burden was heavier where there was no social security because somebody had to provide assistance for the old, for widows and orphans and for the unemployed.



Again big farmers, little farmers and many others began to see the injustice to the farmers themselves of being excluded. "Another thing that has slowly dawned on us farmers is the fact that it has been an illusion that we have ever been exempt from the social-security payroll tax," wrote Mrs. M. B. Sparks in the May issue of *Farm and Ranch* (Dallas, Texas). One farmer said, "I pay a social-security tax on most things I consume because the manufacturers tack it onto the price." It was also realized that the exclusion of agriculture from social security was particularly hard on agricultural states. Many in Southern states, where agriculture predominates, pointed out that millions in social-security taxes were paid on goods bought from the North.

Such thinking since the war has affected farm journals and farm organizations. The farm journals began to print articles in favor of social security and farm organizations began to pass resolutions at their national and state conventions. The National Farmers' Union passed a resolution in 1944, the Farm Bureau and the National Grange voted for old-age and survivors' social-security in the same year; and last month the latter two organizations almost went the whole hog and came out for unemployment compensation when a practical means could be found to administer it.

Curiously enough, new social-security legislation will probably be introduced by Representative Harold D. Knutson (R, Minn.). Because it's an appropriation measure and must originate in the House and be reported on by the Ways and Means Committee, Knutson, chairman of the committee, is the logical person to introduce it. Knutson's record on such legislation is bad but, like other Republican bigwigs, he wants to "get credit." Social legislation introduced by a Republican is not the same as social legislation introduced by a radical New Dealer.

The chances are that the legislative recommendation of the Senate Advisory Council on Social Security will ultimately be put into effect.

ANGUS MCDONALD

MOVIES: Love and Death

FOR HIS film construction of Robert Hichens' "The Paradine Case," producer David O. Selznick has given Alfred Hitchcock a high-voltage, fool-proof cast, and topped it off with a pair of discoveries. Hitchcock might have been happier with fewer celebrities and a little more run-of-the-mill talent.

It is not that the stars fail to display

their well established talents or that the director shows any sign of being buffaloed by them, but it is difficult to fit Gregory Peck, Ann Todd, Charles Laughton, Charles Coburn, Ethel Barrymore and Leo G. Carroll into anything smaller than "Ben Hur" without their getting a bit in the way of one another and the project in hand. When they all come crowding into Old

Bailey to see that Mrs. Paradine receives good British justice, the effect is more like celebrity night at a charity bazaar than a murder trial.

Despite this necessity of dealing with his patron's embarrassing generosity, Hitchcock has worked the old magic of verisimilitude and muted tension well enough to hold his title.

Cause celebre. The Paradine case was one of those sensational scandals that provide conversation in the St. James clubs for months and years. He was blind, poor chap, and she was a damned beautiful woman. Somehow, he got a dose of poison in his burgundy and—well, he'd found her over in Italy, you know, stony-broke and with God knows what in her past. Then this lawyer fellow Anthony Keane, one of the best in the murder line, fell for her—fell so hard he shot the case to blazes and came close to losing his practice and his wife.

The only real weakness in Hitchcock's case, as distinct from Maddelena Paradine's, is in this business of having her lawyer succumb quite so hard and quite so fast. It isn't acceptable that a brilliant trial lawyer, who'd saved the necks of half the rogues in England, would be reduced to the level of a mooncalf on first encounter; particularly when he's been shown to be so exuberantly in love with his wife that the camera has to turn modestly away from even their before-dinner embrace. It's the sort of psychological flaw you don't pick in most crime stories, but it isn't like Hitchcock to be unconvincing on this level.

The players. Gregory Peck is the lawyer; Ann Todd is his wife. They both give the kind of intelligent, obedient performance about which there is little to be said but which gets the work of the theater done. Peck, though, is too irrepressibly American to look much at home in an English barrister's wig, and he can't seem to handle the biting politenesses that Laughton and Carroll, as judge and prosecutor, bat around with such enjoyment.

One of the newcomers is Valli—

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Miss Valli, I guess—who plays Mrs. Paradine: She has the kind of high-cheekboned, slicked-back face that is certainly striking but not easily remembered. Hitchcock couldn't get a great deal out of her except a look of glossy impassivity, but that was about enough, since the action revolves around her and rarely draws her in.

The other Selznick discovery is Louis Jourdan, who as Paradine's valet knows more about the case than he willingly reveals. He is feverish, unstable, dangerous—a tricky rôle and one that he plays nicely just below the blowup point.

Laughton displays his special brand of distilled sadism, and Ethel Barrymore, as his terribly frightened wife, looks like a portrait by Ivan Albright. She hardly gets into the picture at all, but while she's there, she's all of it. In the little space she has she manages to tell another whole story—one that Hitchcock should go back and do some day. It would make simple murders like the Paradine case look cheerful.

The lost lovers. The magic Jean Cocteau reached for and, I thought, missed in "Beauty and the Beast" he has achieved in "The Eternal Return." The story, he says, is based on the legend of Tristan and Iseult, and it may very well be. But it could as well be taken from a dozen other versions of the same theme or from no version at all. It is the old and universal story of the lovers who are inhumanly beautiful and irrevocably doomed.

The lovers, Jean Marais and Madeleine Sologne, are blond as flax among their dark companions. They are touchingly remote, not understanding and not understood by anyone but each other. The rest of the cast acts in a play; these two have been stylized somewhat, as though dancing in a ballet.

This is fragile stuff, preoccupied with modulations of sensitivity, with the counterpoint of beauty and ugliness. There is a lot of spirit in it but scant substance, and a little probably goes a long way. But Cocteau is unlikely to give us very much and the little we do get is a refreshment.

ROBERT HATCH

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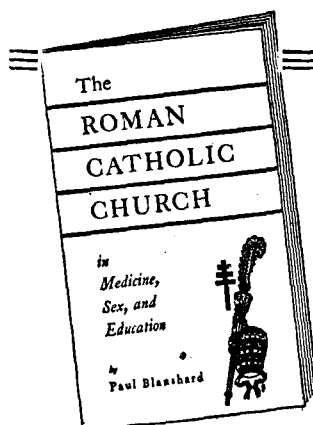
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RADIO: New Outlets

PITTSBURGH, PA.

UNTIL TWO YEARS AGO there were five stations on the air of this metropolitan area, all located in Pittsburgh proper. These are still on the air. There are KDKA, affiliated with NBC; WCAE, lined up with ABC; WJAS, hooked up with CBS; KQV, a member of the Mutual network; and WWSW, independent, non-network and extremely successful.

But 1947 brought two new stations to the air—WPIT, which opened last May, and WPGH, which started talking only about two months ago. At Braddock, Pennsylvania, not far away, a new station came into being with the call letters WLOA. McKeesport, virtually a suburb, has two stations of its own now—WEDO and WMCK. That makes a total of 10 where only five had served before. And just to complete the record, there are two more stations being built in the vicinity, one at Beaver Falls and another at Homestead, just outside the city limits.

All over the map. In theory, this tremendous increase in the number of radio stations has "brought radio closer to the people." There is no doubt that many a mining town and valley hamlet in this territory is now getting better radio reception and greater choice of stations than were possible under the old system of big-city quasi-monopoly. WPIT's coverage map shows entry into West Virginia and into many very small towns in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

But what are the communities now blessed by more and more stations getting out of the new era? Is the radio programming better, more imaginative, more than ever concerned with community problems? Is there greater competition among the stations for the good will of the citizenry, many of whom had never before had access to the tightly limited air? In general, how does the new radio compare with the old?

To obtain clues to some of the an-

swers, I went to two of Pittsburgh's stations. I looked into KDKA and into WPIT. KDKA claims the honor of being the world's oldest broadcasting station. Whether it is that or not, it is certainly one of this country's most important stations. It's owned by Westinghouse Electric Corporation, broadcasts on 50,000 watts—which means that it has tremendous power in resources as well as electronically. I went to WPIT because, while it is new, it has been on the air long enough to give some indication of character.

The friendly business. John L. Meridian, general manager of WPIT and one of its principal owners, is one of the smartest men in radio's minor league. With John J. Laux, of Steubenville, Ohio, he controls not only WPIT and WSTV, Steubenville, but also WFPG at Atlantic City and WKNY at Kingston, New York. Together, these stations make up "The Friendly Group." If you sense the flavor of grass-roots in the term "friendly"—you are right. Meridian and Laux are men who devoted themselves to small-town broadcasting and have made a financial success of it.

Meridian told me that WPIT's "basic pattern" of programming is made up of news and music. The station emphasizes local news, broadcasting 10 minutes of that commodity every other hour. It has come out foursquare for smoke control. It has participated in a hot debate wherein the virtues of the old-fashioned milk bottle were posited against the upstart claims of the paper carton. It has been unafraid to expose Pittsburgh traffic conditions. Through its "Pittsburgh Radio Forum," a half-hour discussion period conducted by a local professor, it has also touched on other, more important, issues. But on the whole, WPIT plays things safe. With news part of its "basic pattern," it has a news staff of three, plus the United Press wire service.

WPIT's music log—actually taking

up almost 90 percent of its total time on the air—is summarized even more quickly. The station employs not a single full-time musician, has no contract with the Pittsburgh local of the American Federation of Musicians (or with any other union, for that matter). WPIT plays a lot of records. It subscribes to two transcription services.

What the people want. WPIT can prove acceptability in more ways than one. Merdian took me into a stockroom where he has many cartons full of mail. I got my fingers quite dirty looking for the postmarks on some hundreds of envelopes—they came from a large tri-state area, addressed either to the station's Santa Claus, who put on a three-week, pre-holiday campaign, or to one of WPIT's popular programs, "Polka Party." That mail was impressive evidence of acceptability. So is Merdian's statement that WPIT was out of the red after five months of operation. Judging by the number of spot announcements it carries, I believe him. True, he charges only \$12.50 for a minute of time that would cost \$40 on KDKA. But he seems to get enough of these contracts to pay off handsomely. One of his competitors told me grudgingly that Merdian and Laux will be earning a profit of \$150,000 a year after their first 12 months on the air with WPIT. So, WPIT has acceptability as far as advertisers and advertising agencies are concerned.

Merdian would say that all this has "enriched" Pittsburgh and its listening area appreciably. And he would point to his mail pull as proof. Certainly his public-service programming is not only minimal but also about as distinguished as his music—which has all the originality of a jukebox tailored to the household trade.

On the basis of this evidence, admittedly insufficient, it seems that the new radio is new only as a statistic. As a contribution to better information, richer culture, or—if you will excuse the expression—higher civic consciousness, the new radio has an old look.

Next week, we'll take a look at KDKA.

SAUL CARSON

BANDWAGON

Elementary, My Dear Watson
RED SHOCK TROOPS
INTELLIGENT, SHOW
HATRED FOR U.S.

—Headline in the Minneapolis Star.

There's Good News Tonight

War with Russia by April was predicted by Bruce Thomas, lecturer and foreign correspondent, speaking Wednesday at the regular weekly luncheon meeting of the Optimist Club at Hotel Syracuse. —From the Syracuse Herald-Journal.

All in the Family

In overruling Mrs. Murray's Municipal Court conviction, the Appellate Court ruled that her "adulterous conduct" did not constitute disorderly conduct because it disturbed no one else but her husband. —From the Chicago Sun.

At Long Last

CHARLESTON PASTORS

ENDORSE THE MESSIAH

—Headline in the Charleston, Illinois, Daily Courier.

The Opiate of the People

Let us not worry too much about inflation or deflation, government controls or the lack of them, budgets or carloadings, the Marshall Plan, and taxes and foreign relief, and things like that. They will be solved by good men in due time, as similar problems have been in the past.

The best way in which we can do our part, is to remind ourselves often of the old adage:

"Early to bed and early to rise,
Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise."

—Sid Woodbury, president of the Portland Chamber of Commerce, in the Portland Oregonian.

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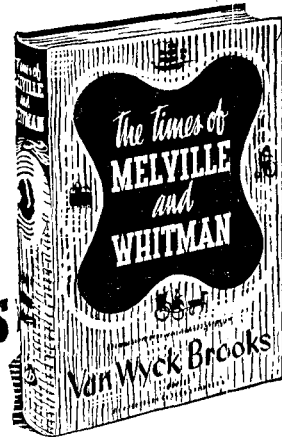
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